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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA**Briefs**

CPCZ Membership Figures	1
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POLAND

CSSR Daily Runs Series on Poland, Unions (Editorial Report).....	2
Commentator Ridicules Western Reaction to Walesa 'Arrests' (TRYBUNA LUDU, 20 Dec 82).....	7
'LE FIGARO' Reports on Polish Political Developments (LE FIGARO, 20 Dec 82).....	11

YUGOSLAVIA

Amendments to Youth Federation Statute Proposed (TANJUG, 19 Dec 82).....	13
Scholarly Dispute Resumes Over Migrations of Albanians (NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 21 Nov, 5 Dec 82).....	15
Remarks by Academician Ivic, by Milo Gligorijevic Angry Response From Kosovo, by Mehmet Hiseni	
Data on Crime, Legal Action, Nationality Structure in Kosovo (M Apt, M Cuk; JEDINSTVO, various dates).....	26
Work of Judiciary Questioned, Discussed (NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 14 Nov 82, POLITIKA, 25 Nov 82).....	36
Pressures on Judges, by Zvonko Simic Interview With Jurist, Djuro Svorcan Interview	

Bogicevic Submits Report to Youth Congress (Bogic Bogicevic; Belgrade Domestic Service, 18 Dec 82)...	44
Debate at Youth Federation Congress Reported (TANJUG, 19 Dec 82).....	53

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CPCZ MEMBERSHIP FIGURES--As of 1 October 1982 the CPCZ had 1,584,011 members and candidate members. Of the 100,165 candidate members enrolled since the 16th CPCZ Congress, 60.3 percent are workers, 6.7 percent members of united cooperative farms and 23.3 percent members of intelligentsia including 3 percent students. The committees of primary party organizations consist of almost 300,000 activists, and more than 60 percent of chairmen of the party primary organizations have a "higher degree of party education." [AU051640 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 82 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2400/106

CSSR DAILY RUNS SERIES ON POLAND, UNIONS

AU171429 [Editorial Report] In the period 19 November-8 December Prague PRACE in Czech continues its series of articles "From a Polish Notebook" by Dr Ota Kotik, with installments 3 to 11. Although the paper does not indicate that the series has ended, it has carried no further installment since 8 December.

Installment three is carried in the 19 November edition on page 2 and is entitled "Import of Counterrevolution." The subject is the "psychological pressure" on the Polish public and, in particular, Polish youth by Western radios. Illustrating this influence, it notes that 47.9 percent of those arrested during the street unrest of 31 August were in the 18 to 25 age group.

Kotik goes on to say that since the young generation constitutes more than half of the Polish population, "everyday political-educational work and all-round care for the youth" is one of the most urgent tasks which also will become the foundation of the political-educational activity of the new trade unions. It is, however, understandable that the political-educational work of the trade union organizations has only just started. Nevertheless, on the basis of a detailed analysis of the situation in the past months, the party "and its allies" have mounted an offensive. This is attested to not only by the setting up of new trade union organizations in further enterprises and institutions, but also by the publishing of various propaganda materials. According to Walery Namiotkiewicz, head of the PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Department, 11 publications have been published between last February and now, dealing with the role and mission of trade unions. These publications--1.5 million in number--have "armed" the aktiv of trade union officials and at the same time created a favorable political atmosphere before and after the adoption of the law on trade unions, Kotik states, closing the third installment.

The fourth installment, 650 words, in PRACE on 22 November is entitled "'Solidarity' in the Class 3A..." It deals with the impact of the Solidarity propaganda on Polish youth and describes cases of "pogroms" organized in Polish schools against the children of party members and people who did not join Solidarity. Kotik recounts the story to this effect told to him by an unnamed fellow journalist and says he could hardly believe the "monstruous extent of the mean poison of nationalism" and the "unbelievably vulgar anti-Sovietism" which had spread thanks to the activity of the Solidarity leadership and which also poisoned the minds and influenced the behavior of schoolchildren.

"The complex struggle with a cunning enemy has not ended yet. But even now--patiently, purposefully and step by step--the things that the internal and external enemy have done to the hearts and minds of even the youngest generation, that means also of the boys from the last year's class 3A, are being rectified..." Kotik concludes the fourth installment.

In the 500-word fifth installment, "Transformations of the Poznan 'Agricultural Academy'," published in PRACE on 23 November on page 4, Kotik describes a visit to that institute and the positive changes there since the introduction of martial law. He notes, however, that whereas classes are being held as usual, the students' organization at the institute is being reestablished only slowly. Thus far, only a few dozen students have joined it, "and that is not enough. A similar situation exists with regard to the setting up of the new trade union organization. It is obvious that memories of the recent past persist and a certain pessimism continues to prevail, which show in the thinking and behavior of young people. One has to take into account--today as well as tomorrow--the 'spiritual legacy' of yesterday which has not been overcome yet," Kotik says.

On 24 November on page 3, PRACE publishes the sixth, 600-word installment, "Among Loyal Friends of the Land of Soviets," which is devoted to two veteran members of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR] and their work in Poznan. One of the two, Edward Stachowiak, has for 20 years been organizing the beautification of the local "friendship park," in which more than 5,000 Soviet soldiers who fell while liberating the Poznan region during World War II are buried.

The other is Maria Rynkiewicz, honorary chairwoman of the Voivodship Committee of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. Kotik says that at a meeting of the organization, which he attended, Rynkiewicz spoke about "events" that occurred in the Poznan area before the imposition of martial law, about Solidarity's threats to and pressure on the organization's honest functionaries. Nevertheless, even in those difficult times, the organization held regular meetings, she said, and stressed: "We simply had to show to ourselves and to them that even in the most difficult situations and conditions one has to work energetically. Of course, we also have suffered tangible losses, particularly of members. A considerable number of them disappeared from our ranks following the recent screenings. In June 1980, the organization had about 120,000 members. Now it has 85,000." However, the situation in Poznan Voivodship is improving--the organization's regional friendship celebrations were attended by thousands of people this year, Rynkiewicz said, according to Kotik.

In the 500-word seventh installment of his series, entitled "They Thanked Us for Help," published in PRACE on 27 November, Kotik writes about his visit to the WNIEPOFAMET Precision Machine Tool Enterprise in Poznan, where, he says, in the course of martial law good working conditions have been created: there is order and tranquility in the factory and enough raw and other materials to work with.

The director of the factory, Kotik says, told him that, following the Western embargo, a French customer cancelled a large order for machine tools and the

the enterprise and its employees found themselves in an unenviable situation. Fortunately, a new contract was concluded with Czechoslovakia some time ago, worth "many millions" of transferable rubles. According to Comrade Zwozdziak, first secretary of the Poznan PZPR regional committee, that contract will keep the factory busy for 2 whole years "and this is one of many examples of how to create conditions for the future, more effective economic development of Poland," Kotik says.

The majority of the factory's 1,800 employees have been there around 10 years and this also has an influence on the local political situation, "which is relatively better than in other enterprises. However, despite this here, too, the situation is fairly complex, because roughly 70 percent of the workers still could not be persuaded to found a new trade union in the enterprise. They give as a reason the fact that the local social commission works fairly successfully, its members are conscientious about workers' affairs..." Kotik says and adds that nevertheless a 30-strong committee, whose task is to contribute to setting up a "truly socialist trade union," is operating in the enterprise already.

On 29 November PRACE publishes the eighth installment, 750 words, "Which Way Masters of Culture?" It is devoted to the conduct of the Polish intelligentsia in the "revival process." Kotik criticizes the Warsaw "Sirena" theater, whose program, he says, is full of allusions to and poisonous attacks on the "necessary measures taken by the state agencies during martial law." Starlets are trying hard and get stormy applause. Their colleagues, the dramatic artists, "receive their reward directly from the Holy Church, which organizes various tendentious 'cultural programs' in its facilities for believers, including theater performances" Kotik says.

But also among the Polish intelligentsia, and especially in its creative unions, a differentiation process is underway, connected with the "revival" of the Polish trade union movement. Many "creative workers" have fled to their "bread providers" in the West and joined ideological anti-Polish campaigns. A considerable number of the humanities intelligentsia openly disagrees with the ongoing consolidation process by an "ostentatious passive resistance," but a number of their colleagues are engaging in the underground, publishing illegal bulletins, newspapers and leaflets. They continue to be "instruments of counterrevolution, inciting anti-Sovietism, great-Polish egocentrism and nationalism."

The majority of the Union of Polish Writers and of the Polish Filmmakers' Association are also active supporters of the reactionary underground, Kotik goes on. The activity of other artistic and creative unions, however, is being gradually revived, "despite the fact that the interest of the majority of members of these unions in the work of the new trade unions is negligible."

But among the members of the Polish cultural front, Kotik says, there are artists who are trying constructively and honestly to collaborate with the current party and state leadership: writers Grzymowski, Safjan, Zukrowski, Wasilewski, poet Dobrowolski and others. They and other committed artists

are under considerable psychological pressure from those who have become traitors or have joined the ranks of those in so-called internal emigration.

But this pressure, these passions and excesses of the savage petty bourgeoisie are doomed, Kotik notes, since the consolidation of Polish society--despite everything--continues for the benefit of People's Poland.

The new trade unions will play the decisive role in this long-term process as well as in the case of the creative unions of the Polish intelligentsia. "Thus far, they have been achieving partial positive results in work with the technical intelligentsia. But sooner or later also the masters of culture will have to decide on which side of the barricade to stand..." Kotik ends the installment.

On 4 December, PRACE publishes the ninth, 650-word, installment of the Kotik series on Poland and its new trade unions. In this installment, entitled "More Energetically Against Speculators," Kotik describes his visit to a market place in the Warsaw Praga District, where a whole range of goods, including foodstuffs, is sold at black market prices. Kotik notes that, despite more rigorous controls by state bodies, the "extensive speculations" continue and the public demands more severe punishment for speculators.

It is obvious that also in this sphere a lot of work awaits the newly-established trade unions, which can help to implementing the government measures aimed at a "more consistent control in all spheres of the society's life" and to improve the "tax surveillance of the individual income of the population and of private units." The new trade unions can also demand fairer taxation and prevent disproportionate enrichment, Kotik says.

The 10th, 600-word, installment entitled "Diversion Also in Education" is published in PRACE on 7 December. Here Kotik writes about a press conference given by "Comrade Duraczynski, head of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Science and Education," in the course of which he described two issues which the party and state bodies are at present "earnestly" resolving: the cadre issue in the sphere of science and education, and the creation of conditions for a "correct" education of the youth. "The main task of the cadre policy," Duraczynski said, "is to deprive the remaining exponents of counter-revolution of influence, and at the same time extend a helping hand to those who have erred in the past."

According to Duraczynski, one of the important and topical tasks is the training of new cadres in the sphere of education. By 1990 one will have to prepare 180,000 boys and girls for teaching professions at schools of all levels. Also the sphere of social sciences needs more politically and professionally trained cadres.

The new trade union organizations, which are already beginning to be active in Polish education, are confronted with an important task: to help the state bodies educate young generations in the socialist spirits, Duraczynski said, according to Kotik.

On 8 December, PRACE publishes the 11th, 700-word, installment entitled "Agricultural Production," in which Kotik criticizes the black market activities

of Polish private farmers before the imposition of martial law last December. Now, 1 year later, quite a few things have changed for the better in the Polish countryside, he says, but the legacy of the former "Rural Solidarity" continues to survive in many respects.

Of the 22 million tons of grain harvested this year, the countryside delivered to the state only about 2.5 million tons, "that is, half the quantity necessary to ensure feeding the population until next harvest." The potato crop amounted to about 33 million tons this year, but only 1.5 million tons, of which 0.5 million tons were so-called industrial potatoes, have been delivered thus far. Quite a few private farmers intend to sell this year's potatoes at double the price or even higher next spring, Kotik says, and adds that the only correct way "to overcome this burdensome legacy of the past, of indiscipline and indifference, is the introduction of mandatory deliveries of grain to the state and the adoption of further concrete and energetic measures to ensure the nutrition of the population of Polish cities and large workers' housing developments," Kotik says.

CSO: 2600/228

COMMENTATOR RIDICULES WESTERN REACTION TO WALESA 'ARRESTS'

LD201432 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Dec 82 p 5

[Commentary by LUX: "The West in a State of Impending Stroke"]

[Text] I remember the day when Sofia Loren was imprisoned in Italy for not paying her taxes. Italian communist deputies clenched their fists because this great actress is a beautiful woman. Catholic deputies had red eyes because a woman of great heart and not so young anymore had been shamed. However, the Polish parliament bravely coped with the drama of the Italian citizen of great name, and it did not pass a protest resolution. The Polish government had a great moral right ceremonially to condemn the government of Swedish King Carl because the Swedish fiscal authorities, persisting in their demands for taxes from Bergman, the great movie director, forced him some time ago to leave his homeland and to emigrate. This moral right to protest Swedish ruthlessness arose from the fact that in our country, for example, Andrzej Wajda has been granted far-reaching tax reliefs. However, the Polish government bravely kept quiet and our Navy did not set off to help Bergman. In France a certain minister committed suicide when he was accused of not paying taxes on property businesses. Capitalist relations are undoubtedly conducive to profiteering on land. However, the Polish political authorities refrained from issuing statements concerning that matter, although they were itching to say something. The Polish authorities did not issue official statements either when financial irregularities were at some point the cause of the fall of the prime minister of Israel, or in many other similar cases.

However, our self-restraint has not been reciprocated. The visit of a Polish citizen with a well-known name, Lech Walesa, to the Financial Department of the town of Gdansk was the cause of total confusion in the Western world. President Reagan interrupted the White House celebrations of an international telecommunications ceremony in order to announce triumphantly to the world that Walesa had returned home from town. Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, issued a statement: Reports about the temporary detention of Walesa cause serious doubts in our minds concerning the intentions of the Polish government. Bonn Spokesman Juergen Sudhoff announced that there was extreme concern by Federal Chancellor Kohl. The cause of the concern, and extreme concern at that, was precisely

the fact of taking Walesa for a talk to a Financial Department. It must be a happy land whose chancellor has no greater worries than the fact that in a different country a certain citizen is asked to submit tax explanation. Pierre Mauroy, premier of the French Republic, spoke in the Senate about the problems of Walesa. The official French news agency AFP reported that the premier expressed his personal outrage and the outrage of the government. To take Walesa to the Financial Department, Mauroy said, was to arrest law, freedom and hope. He did state, however, that these values cannot be arrested at all. Senators, with the exception of communists--AFP reports--protested the disturbing of Walesa with a minute of silence. The Gaullist opposition, on the other hand, demanded that the president should make a public statement on this matter because the voices of the French premier and the Senate would not be quite good enough for Walesa.

Taking Walesa from his home caused the government of the Italian Republic to express their great concern and embarrassment. The American agency AP announced that the Italian trade union leaders condemned the detention as shameless and unbearable. The stance of Sweden with regard to this world event in the form of Walesa's visit to the Gdansk Financial Department was somewhat ambiguous and evasive. The minister of foreign affairs of that country admitted in public that the Kingdom of Sweden did not issue a separate statement on the occasion of Walesa's return home from the tax office, believing that his return was obvious and went without saying. Certain commentators believe that the Swedish government loves--as it is obviously apparent--freedom less than other governments.

All great press agencies, papers, television and radio stations in the West kept reporting Walesa's visit to the financial office continuously and extensively, giving it great renown. First of all, it was announced that Walesa was arrested. No dramatic details were spared. Walesa was taken away in a black vehicle, Reuter reported, immediately creating an atmosphere of horror. After the wave of reports about Walesa's arrest, there was a wave of reports that Walesa had not been arrested but had not returned home from town yet. This made it possible to give the world a third sensational piece of information: Walesa has already returned to his apartment. When the mystery of Walesa's absence from home had been completely explained, the Western mass media reported various additional details of this fascinating event and commented on them extensively. First of all, the fact that the Mercedes carrying Walesa to the Financial Department was, allegedly, going round and round the Tricity was exposed; it went round and round for so long that the passenger got a pain in his back from all this travelling--as he later complained during the press conference which he organized. Strangely, Western correspondents did not associate the mystery of this long journey with their own activities. After all, Walesa would have been closely followed by a string of several dozen Western press cars if not for the attempts to lose them. Not every citizen submitting explanations in the Financial Department would be pleased about the press accompanying him. Confessions of not very clear money matters are of an intimate nature.

It has also been stressed that the time of Walesa's journey to the Financial Department coincided with the time when--according to the announcements of the hero of the events himself--he had the intention of speaking in public at an illegally summoned gathering. Some commentators, however, have written that this time coincidence, accidental or otherwise, could be beneficial for Walesa himself, for it allowed him to save face. First of all, the crowds who were called for the illegal gathering did not gather at all, and so the visit to the Financial Department was a political rescue for the speaker-to-be. Second, it prevented him from committing a crime which would have been an attempt to speak at an illegal gathering. Indirectly, it prevented him from the threat of an accusation of breaching the decrees of martial law, AFP noted.

The Western commentators have, in any case, investigated this aspect of the matter. Even if the authorities did use a legal pretext to make it difficult for the initiators organizing the illegal demonstration and did thus escort citizen Lech Walesa to the Financial Department precisely on 16 December when the underground called for a gathering, Walesa still had the possibility of not using this pretext. It would have been enough to come to the Financial Department voluntarily on the previous date set on the official letter, a date which was not at all connected with any public gatherings. Had he done that, nobody would ever have had to or could have escorted him.

The eagerness of correspondents, commentators and politicians as well as spokesmen who prematurely issued various statements concerning the arrest of Walesa proves that there is a political need for martyrs in Poland. However, while the issue has been explained, the legal, social and moral sense of the event has escaped them.

In times when Solidarity functioned under Walesa's chairmanship this union as a whole and its various branches demanded loudly and incessantly to use the principle of equality of citizens before the law. It was demanded that tax regulations be applied generally and in the same way toward everyone. Hundreds of so-called VIP's were attacked personally for alleged or real lack of reliability in fulfilling their financial obligations to state institutions. There was a violent political campaign supported by strikes and excesses. Cases of suicides by persons wrongly accused of neglecting money settlements are known. In times, however, when equality in tax and other obligations have become stringent Walesa refused to submit explanations concerning serious irregularities in the management of funds of the regions of which he was chairman. He also refused to submit standard tax declarations which are legally binding on all persons earning a lot. It seems that the principles of civic equality ought to apply only to individuals connected with authorities regarded as opponents by the former Solidarity union. Activists of Solidarity themselves, on the other hand, are today supposed to enjoy freedom from the laws, from financial controls and tax regulations.

This embarrassing aspect of the stance of citizen Walesa was ignored by his Western friends. They did not observe either that in the West also--frankly speaking, much more so--force is used if someone does not fulfill his obligations to the tax authorities. In the United States, for example, as opposed to Poland, one is sentenced to prison for tax irregularities. In Italy this is the case, too. The example, quoted already, of Sofia Loren proves it. And still the ordinary act of taking a Polish citizen to the Financial Department to submit explanations caused the heads of great states to interrupt their ceremonies. A temporary absence of Walesa from his apartment provoked the extreme concern of heads of government and senates of great countries. A silent protest was organized. Western statesmen, authorities, large organizations, television and the press went mad. It is possible to believe that the Western world is so humanitarian that it can relax and go to bed only when in remote Poland Mrs Danuta Walesa gives her husband his slippers.

From the Polish viewpoint, we could become annoyed at this feverish playing of the Walesa card when there are not many other cards left in the Polish political bid. However, our principal anger has been totally disarmed. The Western reaction to Walesa's visit to the Gdansk Financial Department has been so overblown that it makes us laugh too much to have any strength left to be angry.

CSO: 2600/202

'LE FIGARO' REPORTS ON POLISH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

PM211529 Paris LE FIGARO in French 20 Dec 82 p 5

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: Martial Law Suspended on 31 December"]

[Text] Warsaw--The Polish Council of State has decided to "suspend martial law over the whole of Polish territory on 31 December 1982," Polish Radio announced yesterday.

This decision by the Council of State follows the adoption of a law by the Sejm on Saturday enabling the Council of State to suspend, lift or restore all or some of the martial law decrees at any time on the Council of Ministers' advice.

Despite the reservations of the Catholic deputies and the Church, the Polish Sejm adopted the bill suspending martial law on Saturday with very few changes.

Only one of the reservations expressed by the Polish primate was taken into account: workers who are forbidden by the management to leave their enterprises as they wish will henceforth be able to appeal against that decision, and provision was not made for that in the initial bill. Aside from that the changes are purely superficial.

The debate was of little interest. Only one speech deserves to be mentioned--that of journalist and writer Edmund Osmanczyk, a highly respected figure who voted against the outlawing of Solidarity last October. The speaker condemned the West's attacks on the Polish government, exclaiming, amid applause: "It is impossible to insult the state and express sympathy for the Poles: this state is that of the Polish nation."

But immediately afterwards Mr Osmanczyk advocated a radical democratization of the state structures: "The alliance of the three parties (communist, peasant and Democratic parties) is a thing of the past," he said. He advocated the acceptance of a new electoral law enabling the Sejm to be more representative and suggested that the Catholic Party of Labor [as published] might be revived. In addition, he expressed the desire for the creation of a bicameral system and the establishment of a presidential

regime in which the president would also be party first secretary but in which the government would comprise experts from all spheres (with many independents) and whose prime minister would no longer be a Politburo member. He also called for the creation of a "Parliamentary Committee for the Restoration and Rebirth of the Republic."

The Neo-Stalinist Danger

And, while welcoming the suspension of martial law, he expressed concern at seeing the full powers being granted to the government undermining constitutional stability. In conclusion, Mr Osmanczyk paid tribute to the Army in the following terms: "The Army's caution has spared us not only a terrible civil war but also, to be frank, the seizure of power by revanchist forces which would have introduced martial law for many years." This is the first time that the danger of the party's neo-Stalinists gaining power in December 1981 has been publicly mentioned in that way.

Aside from that, all the talk in the corridors was about the episcopate's message, but there was not a single deputy, not even Mr Ozdowski, the Sejm's Catholic deputy speaker, who had the courage to mention it during the session. In the light of that text those who were virtually denouncing the primate as a "collaborator" one week ago will praise his "combativeness" this time. That reaction will be as erroneous as the first.

Indeed two things should be observed:

1--The primate's letter does not condemn the law on the suspension of martial law but the law on the provisions which come into force during that suspension. Moreover, the first law was passed unanimously while there were nine abstentions on the second, including four Catholic deputies close to the episcopate. In addition, Mgr Glemp protests with justified force some very specific provisions in the text but not the text as a whole. Finally, he does so out of a concern for "social peace" and even for "the government's credibility."

2--The Church's position is not changing, only the position of the Western commentators toward it. The primate has remained faithful to two great principles from the start: to defend human and civil rights whenever necessary but also to condemn the strikes, demonstrations, and boycotts and to accept dialogue with the government--of which this letter is an element--to spare the country a bloodbath and irreparable damage. These are two facets of one approach. In this sense the firm attitude of the Polish Church and its primate are consistent.

CSO: 3519/226

AMENDMENTS TO YOUTH FEDERATION STATUTE PROPOSED

Belgrade TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 19 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade: The Commission of the 11th Congress for Preparing the Proposals of the Supplements and Changes of the SSOJ Statute has received 52 amendments from the Congress delegates and four amendments submitted both by members and organizations of the SSO. Most of the amendments were not in the nature of fundamental organizational changes of the Statute, but above all, referred to improving and supplementing the texts of individual statutory provisions.

The debate held in preparing the Congress had confirmed, Zdravko Petrovic, rapporteur of the Commission said, that the concept of organizing the SSO, basically determined by the Statute at the 10th Congress of the SSOJ, had experienced affirmation in practice despite existing weaknesses. Therefore, the basic orientations contained in the Statute should remain without any significant changes.

The Commission bore in mind that no matter how significant organizational changes could be, they nevertheless do not resolve many issues and topical problems in the practice of the SSOJ activity.

The activity of the SSO, Petrovic went on, must be reflected in and assessed through the ability of daily setting in train and resolving the vital issues of the young and of society, without losing sight of the objective possibilities, the long-term and lasting interests of the generation and of society as a whole.

The orientation that the SSO organization must organize and unite all young people who accept and who implement with their activity the basic principles and values of self-managing socialist Yugoslavia is clearly expressed.

To incorporate the provision on the basis of which members who are over 27 years of age would be restricted in the right to be elected to functions in the SSO would mean the establishment of a double status for SSO members and this would be contrary to the spirit of the Statute and the provisions on the basis of which the rights and duties of SSOJ members are regulated in a unified manner, it was stated in the explanation of the report of the Commission for the Statute.

The Commission did not consent that this amendment be incorporated in the Statute also because in the organization no unanimous attitude on this issue had been reached.

The Commission, however, believes that the initiative raised is basically a matter of the ideo-political orientation of the SSO and that in view of the existing mood in the organization, it should find a place in the action-political program for the next period.

Marko Golobic explained the proposed action-political program of the 11th Congress.

The SSOJ, Golobic said, must take more resolutely the side of self-managing forces, must come more boldly into conflict with technocratic and bureaucratic forces and in day-by-day life and work contribute, with its entire activity, to the further penetration of self-managing socio-economic relations on the foundations of social property.

The SSOJ will wage, Golobic stressed, the struggle for the proclaimed goals in conditions of many contradictions and problems, bearing in mind the fact that the present is fairly difficult but that all difficulties could be overcome through the consistent implementation of the economic stabilization policy. This implies not merely the implementation of the economic goals but also the work of the SSOJ that problems be resolved in a self-managing way. The proposed action-political program determines in this sense the SSO tasks, among them above all the increase in work productivity, remuneration on the basis of work and the results of work, encouragement of creative work, resolution of the young people's greatest problem--employment, development of agriculture and of artisan industry. The SSO organizations and organs will at times find themselves in a contradictory position because due to specific circumstances at times one has to take a step backward, but we can accept this, Golobic stressed, only as a necessity in order to achieve conditions for five steps forward.

Conscious of living in a restless world, of there being people both inside Yugoslavia as well as outside its borders who do not like our country and our socialist self-managing system, the rapporteur of the Commission for the Action Program went on, we shall also involve ourselves in the struggle for peace both inside as well as within the frameworks of the international community but also contribute to the further strengthening of our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. The orientation is, he went on, that the SSOJ must develop as the broadest front of socialistically orientated young people. The SSO must become the place where the young will provide initiatives and talk on all issues of significance for the young generation.

We shall have to overcome many obstacles, wage many battles with technocrats and bureaucrats, with nationalists and chauvinists and other enemies of all colors and types. This is necessary if we want to change the existing and then, on this basis, build a better a more humane world, better relations among people, Golobic stressed. He recalled that the following had often been heard from the Congress rostrum: less opportunism and more youthful elan. Dealing with the proposed amendments aimed at concretizing the action-political program of the 11th Congress, of which there were over 100, Golobic said that the Commission had accepted 43 amendments.

SCHOLARLY DISPUTE RESUMES OVER MIGRATIONS OF ALBANIANS

Remarks by Academician Ivic

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1664, 21 Nov 82
pp 32-35

[Article by Milo Gligorijevic: "Albania and Kosovo: Migrations and Areas"]

[Text] In connection with the book entitled "Albanians and Their Territories," published in Tirana, Academician Pavle Ivic, who for a long time has studied Kosovo's ethnic past, speaks about the falsifications of scholars with irredentist inclinations. The evidence against their theories, he says, is also to be found in this publication of the Albanian Academy of Sciences.

Academician Pavle Ivic, the noted Yugoslav linguist who in the mid-seventies (with his collaborator Milica Grkovic) published "Decanske Hrisovulje" [Gold Bulls of Decani], has a new book in the press about the paleography and orthography of those medieval charters, written in collaboration with Professor Vera Jerkovic. That news suggested a question for us: Did these studies lead him to any conclusions about the "findings" of the scholars in Kosovo with irredentist orientation?

Academician Ivic understood, of course, that we were asking him what linguistics could say about the assertions to the effect that the Albanians are the descendants of the Illyrians and that they are the original settlers in Kosovo. He first announced that the "presentation of evidence" that the Albanian language is a descendant of Illyrian cannot be taken at face value.

"Present-day Albanian is unquestionably a descendant of some Old Balkan language, that is, of one of the languages which the Roman conquest of the Balkans found on the peninsula. In our time Albanian scholars insist resolutely on the Illyrian origin of their people, from which it follows that the Albanians represent the ancient population of the region in which they now live. However, the matter is considerably more complicated than that. There is no reliable evidence that the Albanian language is a descendant of Illyrian. This remains an open question in world scholarship."

Our informant told us that the advocates of the Thracian theory (according to which the Albanians settled in Albania only at the time of the Great Migration)

include such authorities as Gustav Vajgand, Herman Hirt, Stefan Mladenov, Julius Pokorni, Hans Krahe and Vladimir Georgiev.

What is the weakness of the Illyrian theory?

That, we noted down, it is opposed by linguistic arguments.

"First of all, there are very few points of contact between what is known about the Old Illyrian language and the peculiarities of the Albanian language. Beyond that, Albanian does not have its own expressions even for the most frequent concepts related to the sea: 'fish' and 'oar,' for example, are denoted by words of foreign origin taken from Latin or Slavic. Finally, Albanian is bound up with Romanian by dual ties both with respect to the Old Balkan elements in both languages and also with respect to the dialectical physiognomy of the Latin elements in them. This suggests the conclusion that the former homeland of the Albanian language was in the neighborhood of the old habitats of the Romanians, which are known to have been outside the Illyrian region."

What the Documents Say

The problem of the Illyrian or Thracian (or some third) origin of the Albanians is not in fact relevant to the question of whether the Albanians are ancient settlers in Kosovo. Explicitly emphasizing this, Ivic added: Even if we honor the conception that the Albanians are descendants of the Illyrians and also that the Illyrians settled all of Kosovo in ancient times, and finally, that they did not take over the Latin language there in the time of Roman rule (as occurred in most other districts), that still would not signify that the Illyrian-Albanian population lived in that area uninterruptedly from ancient times to the present.

In short, history has numerous cases of "ebb and flow," shifts of ethnic boundaries.

"Examples? Here: The territory of the present-day German Democratic Republic was mainly ethnic Germanic up to the Great Migration, when the Germans migrated westward and southward. Then came the Slavs, and in the 9th century Germanization began once again. Today's western Poland was Slavic in the Middle Ages, but it later became German, and then in 1945 the Slavs again came to replace the Germans. Present-day Vojvodina had a Slav population until the coming of the Magyars, but even in the 14th century, in a major portion of it, the Hungarian population was predominant. In the 16th century it withdrew, but one century later, through a new colonization, it again became prevalent in northeastern Backa. In Greece the Slavs occupied a large portion of the territory in the 7th century, but there soon began a movement in the opposite direction which lasted several centuries."

So, there is nothing to oppose the supposition that the Slavic population replaced the population it found in what is today Kosovo somewhere in the early Middle Ages and that the present Albanian population in that area came later. And that the Serbs there are descendants of those who settled there in the 7th century.

That is what Pavle Ivic says.

Asked what the medieval texts, which are bound in information, say about the inhabitants of Kosovo, Ivic emphasizes that there were by and large three ethnica living on the territory of Kosovo: the Serb, which was in the enormous majority, the Wallachian (shepherds who had moved from areas where Romanian was spoken) and the Albanian, which was obviously the least numerous. And there were also Germans in Kosovo in the mining settlements. Dubrovnik people were also known to be in the trading towns.

As for ethnic relationships, Ivic explains, the medieval texts indicate at least three modes: they often explicitly indicate a certain population group as "Serb," "Wallachian" or "Albanian," they contain the names of people and they contain geographic names.

Why was it necessary to say in the old charters: these are Serbs, these Wallachians, and these are Albanians?

"Those ethnic groups had different legal status and differing work and material obligations to the lord of the manor. That is why the person drafting the charter did not dare out of any sort of nationalism to mistakenly indicate the ethnic affiliation of the population. The Albanian settlements were indicated as such, but their share did not exceed a few percentage points. These were mainly expanded summer camps of herders, and only in the district around Djakovica and Prizren was the Albanian population more compact. Moreover, northward the ethnic boundary followed the territory which today belongs to Albania. The population of the environs of Tropoja was Serb."

Turkish Records

Ivic finds that these facts support the arguments of the well-known historians Jirecek, Taloci and Suflaj to the effect that the ethnic boundaries of Albania at the time of Skenderbeg (15th century) followed approximately the line from Bar via Prizren to Ohrid, that is, not far from the present national boundary.

Now we note down that the monastery charters of the Serbian rulers in the 13th century and especially 14th century contain an enormous number of names of people who were subjects of the monasteries. It is easy, Ivic says, to recognize the ethnic relationship:

"There is a system of names in the Serbian settlements, another one in the Wallachian and a third in the Albanian. The information offered by personal names agrees very well with the clear features of the ethnic composition of the population. Again in this case it turns out that the population was Serb in most of the settlements. We are talking about many thousands of names. What is more, the Golden Bulls of Decani, which were issued by King Stefan of Decani, and confirmed by his son Dusan, contain the richest collection of Slavic names from such an early period and represent the fundamental source for studying the Slavic onomastic system in the remote past."

Ivic finds a confirmation of his conclusions even in the book "Albanci i njihove teritorije" [The Albanians and Their Territories] (Tirana, 1982, a publication of the Albanian Academy of Sciences), in a paper by the Albanian historian Seljami Puljaha.

In studying names in Turkish tax rolls from the 15th century Puljaha found a pattern which did not contradict that scene in the charters of the Serbian rulers.

"Puljaha says that in the Pec District the censustaker recorded 164 Albanian names and 4,910 Slavic ones, in the Suhogrlo District (in the eastern portion of the Metohija foothills) 8 Albanian names and 1,082 Slavic names, in the Vucitrn District 5 Albanian and 287 Slavic names, in the Pristina District not a single Albanian name and 91 Slavic, in the Lapska District (Podujevo Region) not a single Albanian name and 53 Slavic ones, and in the Prizren District 5 Albanian names and 253 Slavic names. In that material, as you see, the Slavic names are 37 times more numerous than the Albanian ones. To be sure, Puljaha also finds Albanoslavic names (Shiptaroslavs), and that 390 in the Pec District, 53 in the Suhogrlo, 20 in the Vucitrn, 2 in the Pristina, 9 in the Lapska and 25 in the Prizren. He does not tell us what those names are, but we have quite a few reasons for supposing that they are also predominantly Slavic."

If we now add the Albanoslavic names, Ivic says, to the Albanian names, as Puljaha does in his table, the sum will be small: not even 10 percent of the total number of names. A similar such sum can also be seen in the paper by Seljami Puljaha, on page 345 of the very large book "Albanci i njihove teritorije."

"In not one of those districts," Ivic continues, "was there a single village with purely Albanian names, but in the Pec District there were 94 villages with purely Slavic names, in the Vucitrn District 5, and in the Prizren 7. There were also villages with a mixture of names, but even in them the Slavic names predominated, except in 15 settlements of the Pec District where Albanian names--in which for this purpose Puljaha also includes Albanoslavic names--were in the majority."

What picture do place names offer?

A still clearer picture, Ivic says.

"The enormous majority are Slavic, and the Albanian place names are only an exception. It is also significant that even today the Albanians in Kosovo use Slavic names for most settlements, even those in which they are now the sole inhabitants. There is only one way to explain such a situation: The previous inhabitants were Serbs, it was they who gave the names to the settlements, and later there was a change of population, and the new people took the place names of the old inhabitants."

Once again there is evidence in the book referred to, which, as we have said, is a publication of the Albanian Academy of Sciences.

"Page 516, for instance, contains a geographic map of Kosovo. Entered on it are Pristina, Vucitrn, Podujevo, Mitrovica, Leposavic, Istok, Glogovac, Pec, Decani, Djakovica, Orahovac, Suva Reka, Dragas, Gnjilane and Kamenica, with ~~those~~ Serbian names in Albanian pronunciation and orthography (Prishtinë, Vuciternë, and so on) and in addition Klina, whose name originates back in ancient times, Kacanik and Ferizaj (Urosevac). So, of the 19 settlements given only 3 quite small settlements do not have Serbian names in the Albanian language. And of those three one is quite old, the other two are of more recent date. Their origin is associated with the period of Turkish rule."

We see that the situation is identically the same with the names of districts. On the map we find the Serbian names Kolasin, Podgor, Drenica, Prekoruplje, Podrima, Srečka, Gora, Opolje, Golak, Morava.... Just like the names of the towns, these are Serbian names in the enormous majority. Of course, even the very name of the province, Kosovo, is Serbian.

Other Evidence

Mentioning that the territory of the Province of Kosovo today was in the Middle Ages the center of the Serbian state, that most of the capitals were located there (in that period they often moved from place to place), and that this was the location of the Serbian Archepiscopate and then patriarchate, and also that the most important memorials were built there, Ivic asks: Could this have happened if some alien population were living there? And yet at the same time the Albanian share is not manifested in the political events and cultural achievements about which so much is known?

It is beyond doubt, Ivic goes on to say, that the Albanian population mostly reached Kosovo during the period of Turkish rule. Its settlement coincides with the general flow of migration in the western half of the Balkans in that era.

"From the high mountain regions of the Dinarid Mountains, from Lika to northern Albania, the streams of migration of mountain people occurred over several centuries toward the milder and more fertile valleys in the northeastern areas. Thus extensive parts of western Serbia and Sumadija were settled by newcomers from Hercegovina and neighboring regions of Montenegro. The migration, which incidentally has been very well studied, also involved the Albanian population on its extreme southeastern flank. The high and karstic northern Albanian mountains (Prokletije and ranges in the sweep of the Drim) represent an area with little potential for development and constitute one of the most typical regions where migrations originated."

Did the migration of hill people from those regions occur at the same time as the migration of the Serbian population from other similar areas?

Yes, Ivic says, but it had another peculiarity.

"Here it was mainly the Moslem population which was moving with the support of the Turkish authorities. They saw in those Albanian resettlements, in those Moslems, a point of support for their rule and a defense against the unreliable

Serbian population. Thus the techniques of ethnic expansion included the use of weapons and other forms of pressure toward the indigenous population, which was thus compelled to move out. Numerous sources in the 19th century and beginning of the 20th indicate the terror imposed on the Christian population: physical assaults on people, arbitrary taking away of land, arson, the killing and driving away of livestock, that is, the infliction of loss in every way."

We asked whether today there are irrefutable connections between the Albanian tribes in Kosovo and those in Albania? And we note down that a large portion of the Albanian population in Kosovo preserves the tradition of its origin in the tribes and fraternities living in northern Albania. Professor Ivic mentioned the names Salja, Hoti, Krasnici....

"The Serbs moved out as the Albanians were moving in. This took on large-scale forms during the wars between the Austrians and the Turks, when the Serbian population was helping the Austrians, and after their defeat it had to flee. That is how it was under the Pec Patriarchs Arsenius III Carnojevic and Arsenius IV Sakabenta, who in the late 17th century and first half of the 18th century fled to Austrian territory with large groups of people. However, an incomparably larger number of Serbs left Kosovo in smaller resettlement movements."

Does the dialectology of our language show traces of the migrations?

Ivic also answered this question in the affirmative.

"More than a third of the present Serbia proper is embraced by the regions of the two dialects, the Kosovo-Resava and the Prizren-Southern Morava, whose areas are elongated and link together parts of the Province of Kosovo with areas further to the northeast, even to the Romanian border. In fact these elongated forms of dialectical zones show the directions of movement of the population from Kosovo toward the northeast. The science of ethnography knows that the parts of these dialects outside the territory of Kosovo occurred by resettlement from those areas. And that this occurred in the more recent period, since the 17th century."

Just as those who moved from Albania into Kosovo, Ivic says, preserved their consciousness of the old region, thus a majority of Serbian families, whose roots are in Kosovo, preserved the tradition of having come from the areas of Kosovo up until the first decades of this century and to some extent even to this very day. The dialect which they speak is one irrefutable confirmation.

The end of Ivic's response reached us in the form of a question: If there was no Serbian population in Kosovo, or if it was small, how could there have been so many of those who moved out?

Propaganda at Pains

Let us speak now about those Albanian scholars who set themselves the task of proving the altogether vulnerable thesis that Kosovo is exclusively Albanian, since supposedly Albanians have been in it since time immemorial. What do they resort to in order to appear convincing at least to the uninformed?

"In citing the medieval names of Kosovo inhabitants, they avoid," Professor Ivic says, "to present the material in its entirety. They limit themselves to the presentation of individual examples. There are thousands of names in the material, and it is not difficult to find several tens of Albanian names. A reader who does not know that there are incomparably more Slavic names will be deceived."

Another propagandistic skill is to proclaim obviously Slavic names to be Albanian names.

In the book "Albanci i njihove teritorije" people with the names Radonja Punosevic and Vuk Milatkovic are called Albanians. Those who at the time of their christening received the names Berislav, Golub, Milota and Miran also "became" Albanians.... Ivic believes that some of the appropriations can be explained by the author's failure to understand the Old Serbian language or by poor reading of medieval Cyrillic. The name Gojko, for example, was read as Gonko and proclaimed to be Albanian. But ignorance does not account for a majority of these and similar assertions, but intentional and deliberate falsification.

Professor Ivic also informed us about the account of the irredentists to the effect that those thousands of people with Serbian names are actually all Albanians to a man!

The irredentists find defense for this assertion in the fact that there were families in which some members bore Serbian and some Albanian names. But there were few such cases and they represent a small percentage of the material. Nor is it certain that all such families were Albanian in their language.

"What is more," Ivic says, "there were certain cases where individual groups of Albanian herders, looking for better pastures, went into areas with Serbian population, stayed there and were assimilated, but, as the custom was, the descendants would invariably be given the names of their ancestors. Some of those names could have become domesticated among the Serbian population, just as the Wallachian name Radul became domesticated in certain regions. Nevertheless, all these cases are of peripheral importance and cannot alter the fact that the Serbian names are in the enormous majority and that they demonstrate the diversity of forms of linguistic creativity. This diversity, you will admit, could not even be imagined in an environment whose native language was not Serbian."

We asked about the value of the argument that the Orthodox Church gave preference to Slavic names.

"At the time when the endeavor was made to influence the giving of names to the population, the Christian Church always demanded that the indigenous names be abandoned and that calendar names be taken, that is, biblical names and names of the saints. There were thus cases in which the Slavic ethnic names in the medieval charters were in subsequent centuries displaced in large part from the Serbian people by church names like Jovan or Petar."

Finally, we asked Academician Pavle Ivic whether the so-called scholarship serving the Irredenta would have had such an impact in the province if scholarly criticism had been more highly developed in Yugoslavia and if the flow of ideas had been more rapid.

"Certainly many things would have been different if the conditions had been different. Most of the writings by fellow scholars in Pristina were published in Albanian, and among Yugoslav linguists outside of Kosovo there are hardly any who can read Albanian. Aside from that, there is practically no Yugoslav Albanology outside of Kosovo, which is a huge gap in our culture and scholarship. We do not have the people who could regularly follow the advances and also the errors of scholars in Pristina and Tirana. The filling of that gap is one of the urgent tasks of a sensible policy."

This was not the end of the answer. Ivic feels that the general fragmentation of our culture has obviously slowed down the flow of information. And yet another misfortune: in Serbia proper there is not a single specialist whose primary obligation has been to work on onomastics.

"The onomastics committee of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, of which I am the chairman, has for years been fighting to have at least one position of this kind. Pristina is in a more favorable position than Belgrade. Pristina has teams of people. I know that the money was found easily for their advanced training abroad, and I think it would be for the betterment of science if such funds were also found in other communities."

Is it possible that the facts just noted could explain publication of the book "Iz istorije Albanaca" [From the History of the Albanians] in Belgrade under the sponsorship of the Serbian Institution for Publication of Textbooks in 1968? In that book, which was offered as a manual for teachers, there are papers by reputable scholars, but there are also writings by Ali Hadri. Zef Mirdita says in that book that the Albanians are undoubtedly descendants of the Illyrians.

Here again the answer was in the affirmative.

We said goodbye to Academician Pavle Ivic, who emphasized that up until quite recently there did not even exist a real climate for discussion of the problematical arguments coming from Pristina. Does it exist now? If the very publication of this article is a kind of proof, then it must be said without hesitation that it does exist.

Angry Response From Kosovo

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1666, 5 Dec 82
pp 2-3

[Letter to the editor by Mehmet Hiseni, Urosevac, in response to the article entitled "Albania and Kosovo": "In Favor of Scholarship, Without Speculation"]

[Text] It would take a voluminous study for me to answer all the questions which Academician Ivic has raised in a few pages. I will dwell only on some of the most basic ones.

Academician Ivic supports the theory of the Thracian origin of the Albanians, and he is opposed to the theory of their Illyrian origin. I have found it strange that all the Serbian scholars are now all of a sudden supporting this theory, but thanks to Academician Ivic, that matter has also become clear to me.

Academician Ivic, in order to put greater weight behind his words, cites the names of a few scholars who are followers of the Thracian theory. Yet this means nothing to me, since all the pages of your newspaper would not be sufficient if I were to enumerate only those scholars who have, for example, disputed the identity of the two South Slav peoples. The important thing for me is arguments, not names.

Academician Ivic says that the Albanians borrowed the word "fish," in Albanian "pesk-u," from the Latin "pisces," while they borrowed the word "oar," in Albanian "rrem-at," from the Slavs. He therefore proves that the Albanians do not have an Illyrian origin, since they do not have even the most basic terminology of the sea. In my opinion, the first word "fish" is not associated with the sea at all, since there are also fish in the rivers, and the Albanians, wherever they lived, had to come in contact with this concept. The similarity of that word to the Latin word I explain by the fact that both Latin and Albanian belong to the group of Indo-European languages. As for the word for "oar" (veslo) I see no similarity whatsoever between the Albanian and Slavic forms of that word. I wait upon Dr Ivic to explain this to me.

Academician Ivic asserts that the Albanians moved into Kosovo after the migration of Serbs, most of whom were moving out individually, and to a lesser extent under the leadership of Carnojevic and Sakabenta. Dr Ivic forgets that the Albanians from Kosovo took an active part on the side of the Austrians in the war against Turkey and that later about 2,000 Albanians moved out of Kosovo together with the Austrian Army, mainly belonging to the Kelmendi tribe, and settled in Srem in some 16 villages. Accounts of this are still told even today in the villages Nikinci and Hrtkovci. One Serbian historian even asserts that the Karadjordjevic dynasty was descended from the Kelmendi tribe, a portion of which settled in the vicinity of Rudnik.

Academician Ivic, seeing that the documents of that time present the datum of the negligible number of Serbs who moved out under the leadership of the two

patriarchs, elaborates the thesis of a far larger number of Serbs who moved out individually. In so doing he forgets one little thing: Why did they choose the more difficult, more dangerous and less safe way, when they could have gone in groups under the leadership of their spiritual leader and under the protection of the Austrian Army?

Academician Ivic asserts that in medieval Serbia there were a negligible number of Albanians living in Kosovo, and he altogether denies the possibility of the existence of Orthodox Albanians. We know from history that in southern Albania there were Albanians of Orthodox faith which they took over in contact with the Greeks. Even in the north Albanians took the Orthodox faith, especially since Serbia was expanding by means of violence, with the blessing of the faith, which it imposed by every means on the indigenous population. The mixed names of families from that time and the purely Albanian last names of Serbs and Montenegrins today, such as Maljevic, Zogovic, Zotovic, Vukumirovic, and so on, stand as proof of this, as do the awareness and stories handed down in certain Montenegrin tribes about the common origin with the Albanians (such as the tribes Kuci, Bjelopavlici, Vasojevici, and others). At one time this led to Niksic's erroneous conclusion when he said that the Albanians were actually Serbs who had become assimilated, and the theory was developed about the so-called "Albanians of our blood--the Albanianized Serbs."

There is yet another fact. The Serbs and other Slavs referred to the Albanians as Arbanasi, which in Albanian literally means "make a crop," i.e., "the one who makes a crop." It is possible that that name originated at the time when herding and tilling the land became separate among the Albanians. That is, the Albanians began to refer to those who moved into agriculture as Arben. As that term spread, they also referred to their land as Arbenia--Arberia. By contrast with them, there were herders who continued to live in the mountains, and were therefore called Malci and Malsor, which sounded to the Slavs like Malzi, so they translated it "Black Mountain" (Montenegro). The proof of the theory that the Albanians had an advanced agriculture before the Slavs came lies in the fact that in the Albanian language there is quite an abundant native terminology concerning agriculture. Dr Ivic is presumably aware that in Yugoslavia even today there are villages called Arbanas or Arbanasko, for example, in the vicinity of Nis and in western Bosnia.

We Albanians do not see in the Illyrian theory of the origin of the Albanians elements of separation, but, on the contrary, elements of community, since certain other nationalities in Yugoslavia also have Illyrian blood. We have no need whatsoever to prove an historic right to a particular area. It is sufficient for us that we live in that area. We are against speculations concerning any sort of right to Kosovo, or indeed Macedonia. The LCY has clearly stressed that Kosovo belongs to all the nationalities and ethnic minorities who live there: the Albanians, the Serbs, the Montenegrins, the Turks and all others. Speculations about emigration in the course of history as an emptying out of a particular area (old native home) of some people are unscientific and harmful, especially when they are put at the service of some particular policy. It is well known that in the course of the centuries, and until quite recently, the Albanians were also moving out of Kosovo, and that without returning.

However, this does not give anyone the right to make any political capital from that, especially since the commitments of communists concerning this issue are clear, and they have been made clear not only in words, but also in deeds.

Scholars ought to concern themselves with scholarship without prejudices and prove particular theories with real research. We have no need for name-calling and attempts at political disqualification in scholarship. Dr Ivic's scientific discussion in the pages of NIN is for me like Ivo Andric's "scholarship" in the story entitled "Alija Djerzelez's Trip," in which he "proves" Djerzelez's non-Albanian origin.

In conclusion I would remind Academician Ivic that aside from the two theories mentioned, there is also a theory about the origin of the Albanians concerning the Etruscan and (pelasko) origin of the Albanians. So much for that.

7045

CSO: 2800/77

DATA ON CRIME, LEGAL ACTION, NATIONALITY STRUCTURE IN KOSOVO

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 22, 23, 25 Oct 82, p 7 resp

[Article by M Apt and M Cuk]

[Text] 56 Illegal Enemy Groups Have Been Discovered

From the outbreak of counterrevolutionary demonstrations until now, 56 illegal enemy groups have been discovered that are acting from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism; they have more than 800 members, of which 80 percent have been found to be involved in enemy acts. Criminal actions have been instituted against 550 persons for counterrevolutionary activity and other forms of hostile action, with 527 convicted so far and more than 1,400 persons punished for misdemeanors.

These results and the measures that have been taken have contributed to a gradual improvement of the security situation in the province; while keeping in mind the goals and intentions of the arrested enemy groups, they have helped prevent pressure and other hostile acts directed at residents of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality. Despite the results so far, however, the fact is that the enemy is still active and able directly or indirectly to bring pressure on these people.

The basic orientation of the agencies of internal affairs in undertaking measures directed at uncovering, preventing and smashing international conflicts is aimed at preventive action. Preventive action is provided primarily through conducting operations and assignments in secured sectors. In this way they can assure a territorial covering of the terrain in all environments, so that the perpetrators' field of operations is constricted. All other authorized officials (members of public security forces and of the State Security Service) are also involved in this preventive action, aimed at gathering information and undertaking appropriate measures in the course of everyday work. Besides the territorial principle in covering the terrain, this approach provides constant direct contact with the working people and citizens, thus contributing to more complete knowledge of the security situation on the territories of local communities, and in the end result, resulting in more timely and effective institution of necessary measures for preventing, uncovering and eliminating international conflicts.

Misunderstandings About Unresolved Property Relationships

In 8 months of 1982 68 criminal cases (from the area of international clashes) were registered, of which 58 had caused harm to persons of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality with the accused being persons of Albanian nationality. There were 68 indictments against 93 persons, of whom 85.3 percent were of Albanian nationality. In this period there were 43 murders in Kosovo, of which two victims were of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality; there were also 12 attempted murders (with two victims of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality), 110 cases of severe bodily harm, of which 10 involved international conflicts and 8 were against persons of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality. There were 18 criminal rape cases, of which 3 were directed at persons of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality, and 21 attempted rapes, of which 4 victims were persons of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality.

In the same 8-month period 590 misdemeanors were registered between persons of different nationalities, of which 455 harmed persons of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality, and the accused were persons of Albanian nationality; 165 cases involved injury to persons of Albanian nationality and the accused were persons of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality. There were 599 complaints for initiation of cases against 788 persons, of which 615 were of Albanian nationality and 163 were of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality.

The fact is that cases involving pressure continue to be present. When, however, it is a matter of number, a realistic estimate shows that the number has increased due to the fact that now such cases are recorded and pursued more than previously.

Advances in Preparing Agencies of Internal Affairs

Thanks to measures and support coming from the appropriate provincial, republic and federal agencies in the period after the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo, a significant success has been achieved in overall preparation of agencies of internal affairs (including public and state security services). A realistic estimate is that the Kosovo security service is markedly better prepared in organization, personnel and equipment. Compared to the previous period, the service is achieving ever more significant results in uncovering and preventing all forms of hostile activities, uncovering and preventing other forms of counterrevolutionary activity, as well as assuring public peace and order. The indicated data on results obtained speak clearly of the strengthening and preparation of the province's security service. Yet despite the results achieved by the security service, and despite the measures undertaken to affect timely and effective operations, there are still certain subjective weaknesses and objective difficulties. It is realistically believed that those weaknesses and objective difficulties have great impact on the execution of the assignments of this service.

Activities of Judicial Agencies

During 1981, particularly in courts and public prosecutor offices, the judicial system achieved maximal measures of organization and vigilance in all phases of cases against perpetrators of criminal acts against the foundations of the socialist self-management social order and security of Yugoslavia. They insisted on the urgency, punctuality, legality and strict policy of punishment for these acts because of the potential danger that such hostile activities might continue.

In this area, utilizing all legal possibilities the judicial system functioned successfully and without any sort of disruption, in a very organized manner, in the period from March of last year to September this year, concluding criminal cases against 527 persons, who received very stiff sentences. Of the total number convicted, 203 received prison sentences of 6-15 years. To conduct the cases against the perpetrators of these criminal acts, special programs and plans were used to provide by delegation that the cases be conducted by the most specialized and strongest ideologically and politically prepared personnel in the judicial system. On this occasion to a large degree the activities of all subjective forces in the judicial agencies were put into motion (including basic organizations of the League of Communists, the Trade Unions, etc.). The same measures and mobilizational activities were also implemented in the courts for misdemeanors, for which 1,476 persons were punished as a result of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations of 1981, by September 1982. These cases involved hostile acts of a misdemeanor type.

In the practice of the judicial agencies, cases are handled in accordance with the law. Court councils are formed of members of various nationalities, and parties are enabled to participate in the proceedings in their mother tongue. The judicial agencies provide for legal implementation of the principle of equality of language and writing.

Judges Suspended for Malpractice

Because of moral and political malpractice, five judges have been suspended from their court duties for misdemeanors and three opstina court judges have been suspended for idleness, while cases on work competence and moral and political propriety are being pursued concerning six more regular court judges. One warden of a district jail has been suspended for lack of vigilance and special responsibility. Intensive activities are under way to test the moral and political propriety and work of all persons involved in the judicial system's functions, to assure that all agencies will contain only those persons who are consistent in implementing constitutionality, legality and other measures of significance for strengthening the political security status in the province.

These agencies largely dealt with specialized assignments and were directly involved in resolving prepared cases, without paying sufficient attention to certain negative social phenomena from the aspect of their discovery and the initiation of resolutions and prevention of such phenomena.

Insufficient vigilance and unsatisfactory general functioning of the judicial system in the province, besides the performance of expert assignments, could also have contributed to the degree of surprise when the counterrevolutionary demonstrations occurred. Regarding the earlier period, especially after the actions and measures approved by the Kosovo Assembly, there is a feeling of intensified and broader activity by the judicial agencies through the mobilization of internal political and other parties and sociopolitical factors of the environment in which these agencies exist and operate. That represents a quality, organized transformation of the largest number of forces in the judicial system, while measures are also under way for eliminating all the weaknesses that hamper the judicial system in performing its functions, particularly in the domain of assuring equality and uniformity in any matters that can affect the resettlement of Serbs and Montenegrins to locations outside Kosovo. These statements are all contained in the situation report. The courts and public prosecutor offices have set up special records for cases in which the parties are of different nationalities, with the aim of monitoring and maintaining direct surveillance and priority treatment of them.

In procedures of judicial agencies there have been no instances where special criteria were employed in conducting cases or implementing sentencing policy according to the national origin of the parties. In the practice of the judicial agencies, in individual cases, especially in civil cases, the ideological and political background of disputes has not been taken into consideration sufficiently. Neither the origins of involved parties nor specific problems of a multinational ambience have received their due attention. The feeling of equality among participants in a case has not been considered enough. In this direction, the judicial system is conducting an intensive organized action for concrete determination of responsibility of judicial workers and elimination of all causes that could lead to such phenomena.

The total number of primary law suits in which the plaintiffs were Serbs or Montenegrins and the defendants Albanians and others was 467 (while courts of the first instance had 20,400 cases in their load on 30 June 1982). Thus 2.3 percent of the total number of law suits in progress were of this type. Of the 467 such cases being tried this year, 337, or 72.2 percent were still unresolved as primary cases.

There were 1,870 cases under appeal by the end of June of this year, of which 60 or 3.2 percent were cases with Serbian or Montenegrin plaintiffs and Albanian or other defendants. Of the total such cases 45, or 75 percent, had been decided, leaving 15 or 25 percent unresolved.

Non-litigated cases in the courts by the end of June 1982 totaled 16,199, of which 60 or 0.4 percent related to cases instigated by Serbs or Montenegrins and the defendants were Albanians or other nationalities. Of the total 60 cases of this type, 30, or 50 percent, remained unresolved. Court orders in the period totaled 46,761, of which 191 or 0.4 percent had Serbian or Montenegrin accusers and Albanian or other nationality defendants. Of this number 69 cases, 36.1 percent, had been resolved, while 122 or

or 63.9 percent remained undecided. The 122 court orders included 82.8 percent monetary demands.

Investigated cases in the period totaled 2,979, of which 2,285 or 76 percent had been resolved. Of the total number of such cases 259, or 8.7 percent, related to cases in which Serbs or Montenegrins were the harmed party. Of this number 89, or 34.4 percent, had been decided, while 170 or 65.6 percent remained unresolved. Of the total number of cases of this type 55.6 percent relate to criminal traffic violations, while 19.3 percent involved criminal acts against property in which Serbs or Montenegrins were the harmed party.

The total number of primary criminal cases in the period totaled 7,282, of which 1,510 or 20.7 percent have been decided. Of the total number of primary criminal acts 356 or 4.9 percent relate to cases in which Serbs or Montenegrins were harmed. Of this number 141 cases or 39.6 percent have been decided, while 215 or 60.4 percent have not. Of the total number of cases of this type 115 or 32.2 percent relate to criminal traffic violations, but 17 or 4.78 percent relate to criminal acts against honor and reputation, 5 cases deal with criminal acts against public order and transportation, 11 cases or 3.09 percent relate to criminal acts against personal dignity and morale, 8 cases or 2.25 percent deal with criminal acts violating the civil rights of a person and citizen and the other types of criminal acts are represented in significantly fewer numbers.

There were 1,539 appeals of criminal cases of which 82 or 5.3 percent involve harm to Serbs or Montenegrins. Of that number 42 or 51 percent have been decided, while 40 or 49 percent remain unresolved. Of the total number of such cases 31 or 37.8 percent relate to criminal traffic violations, 12 cases or 14.6 percent relate to criminal acts against property, 7 cases or 8.5 percent relate to criminal acts against the foundations of the socialist self-management social order, and the security of Yugoslavia, and 5, or 6 percent, are criminal cases against public order and transportation; the percentage share of other types of cases is much smaller.

Of 111 criminal cases relating to minors in primary court actions in which the harmed parties are Serbs or Montenegrins, 61 cases or 55 percent involve criminal acts against property.

In this period the public prosecutor offices in Kosovo received and handled 4,119 complaints, of which 324 related to matters in which the harmed parties were Serbs or Montenegrins. Of this number 299 complaints were resolved, or 92.3 percent of the complaints in which Serbs or Montenegrins were injured parties, while 25 cases or 7.7 percent were unresolved as of 1 September 1982. The largest number of criminal complaints (114 or 35 percent) relate to criminal traffic violations, followed by criminal acts against property (86 complaints or 26.5 percent). Of 93 decisions of primary courts, the public prosecutor offices entered 12 appeals.

Of the total number of cases that were before the associated labor court of Kosovo in the period 1 January to 20 July 1982 (473 cases), 162 or 34 percent were brought by Serbs or Montenegrins, and 10 cases were brought by plaintiffs of Moslem nationality. The court decided 85 such cases or 52.4 percent, while 77 or 48 percent were not resolved. The reasons for insufficient effectiveness of this court included length of procedure because of the need to translate individual documents of the cases and the decisions, postponements due to failure of parties to respond and the insufficient number of judges, priority resolution of cases previously received and other objective difficulties.

The Number of Cases in Associated Labor Courts Also Grew

The total number of cases submitted to basic associated labor courts in Pristina and Djakovica totaled 10,083, of which 2,808 were submitted by parties of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality. Of the total number of such cases (2,808) submitted by Serbian or Montenegrin plaintiffs, 1,259 cases remained undecided. Priority in deciding cases is determined on the basis of the type of dispute and the time of submission of the case (with priority being given to cases in which loss of position, housing disputes or hiring are involved). Among reasons for failure to decide these cases are such factors as improper procedures by labor organizations in submitting documentation, failure to respond to the court's summons, purposeful delay, resolution of a preliminary question, and others.

Courts for violations in Kosovo had 109,970 cases before them by 1 September 1982, of which 720 or 0.65 percent related to cases in which the harmed parties were Serbs or Montenegrins. In this period 58.7 percent of all cases were decided, while 41.3 percent remained unresolved. When the cases involving harm to Serbs and Montenegrins are considered, 61 percent were decided while 39 percent of the cases of this type remained unresolved.

The total number of cases before all regular courts in Kosovo on 1 June 1982 was 187,244, of which 109,987, or 58.8 percent, had not been decided. Of the total number of cases 1,532 dealt with instances of harm to Serbs or Montenegrins, of which 996, or 65 percent, remained undecided. The largest number of such cases, however, relate to criminal acts against property and traffic violations, which were not of direct influence on relations among the nationalities, while the bulk of significant cases (of bodily harm or murder, against personal dignity and morale, etc.) were resolved in this period.

Activities in Education, Science and Culture and Employment

Educational and training institutions of all levels have affected and continue to affect ideological and political and broader moral and professional and labor differentiation among cultural workers and among high school and college youth.

In the process of educational and training work in elementary, high school and higher education institutions and faculties, more than 200 teachers have been suspended, of which 40 have been convicted and 180 expelled from membership in the LCY. In addition, during the course of the 1981/82 school year 17 directors of educational and training institutions have been replaced by better trained and more capable personnel. Some 290 students were expelled from high schools and 100 were expelled from LCY membership, while 50 high students and 50 college students were convicted, and 174 high school and 98 college students were fined or misdemeanors.

Educational and training work at all levels of education have been organized in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian, while in regions where persons of Turkish nationality live, Turkish is also employed.

With the aim of eliminating from curricula and textbooks items of romantic nationalist content, as well as other weaknesses and inconsistencies, necessary changes and supplements have been made, particularly in programs and textbooks in the sociolinguistic area. A number of textbooks have been replaced, while textbooks from Albania have been removed from use.

This year in the province's interest community for education and training, a document entitled "Foundations of Registration Policy for High School and College Students in Directed Education" was adopted. It will bring more order and avoid chance elements in the registration of high school and college students. This proposal anticipates registration of 8,460 regular students at advanced schools and faculties in Kosovo during the 1981/82 academic year. Of this number, it is proposed that 6,763 or 79.94 percent will be using Albanian as the language of instruction, while 1,697 or 20.06 percent will be using Serbo-Croatian.

This ratio approximates the ratio of students in the final grades of high school institutions according to language of instruction. Specifically, last year the final grades in high school education in Kosovo contained 19,884 students, of which 15,907 were in schools where Albanian was the language of instruction (80 percent) and 3,777 (19 percent) had Serbo-Croatian and 200 (1 percent) had Turkish as the language of instruction. This registration policy was also implemented during the current school year.

Of the total planned places for regular registered students in the first year of study at institutions of higher education, 7,075 or 82.58 percent were accepted during the first two registration periods of instruction in Albanian, and 1,492 or 17.42 percent were accepted for Serbo-Croatian instruction.

Competition is in progress for the remaining openings at the first year level (151 for Albanian language instruction and 427 with Serbo-Croatian as the language of instruction). The report on the results of registration and implementation of the registration policy for the 1982/83

academic year is to be submitted to the Kosovo Assembly by the end of October or early November of 1982.

Some Weaknesses Have Not Yet Been Overcome

Despite the measures taken, some weaknesses from the previous period in the realm of the standards of high school and college students (stipends, credits and housing, for example) have not yet been overcome. A special problem is the unsatisfactory national structure. For example, in dormitories for high school students there were only 96 Serbs or Montenegrins of the total 1,299 students, or 7.3 percent, in the 1981/82 academic year. College dormitories held a total of 4,409 students, but Serbs and Montenegrins made up only 2.4 percent with their total of 108. Therefore, resolution of these questions is dominated by the social component over other criteria. Of the total 3,817 awarded credits in 1981/82, students of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality received 287 or 5.9 percent. These omissions have been noted and the necessary efforts are being made to eliminate them.

The necessary measures are being taken to improve the financial, programmatic and personnel status in individual cultural activities of the Albanian and Serbian drama in POZORISTE, the journal which appears in Serbo-Croatian and Turkish.

Activities Concerning Employment and Employment Policy

The area of employment in Kosovo is regulated by the Law on Labor Relationships, the Employment Law, the social agreement of intercommunity interest associations for employment, statutes and other general acts of organizations of associated labor, labor organizations and other self-management organizations and associations.

The question of equal use of language is regulated by a separate Law on Creating Equality of Language and Writing in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Provisions of laws and other regulations in force that govern employment do not contain provisions that violate the equality of working people and citizens in this region. Nonetheless, the further development of these legal acts led to certain inaccuracies. To be precise, the general self-management acts of basic organizations of associated labor, particularly the regulations on systematizing tasks and assignments and regulations for distribution of income and resources of personal income, have been found to contain inaccuracies and shortcomings in the normal implementation of the principle of equality of language and writing use.

Such inaccuracies cause dissatisfaction and indisposition among employees of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in organizations of associated labor, which have a harmful effect on relations between individuals and nationalities. Here it should also be stressed that this inconsistent

application of legal and other regulatory decisions in general self-management acts is typical for organizations of associated labor in which self-management relationships have not been developed to a sufficient degree, or in which there are manifestations of bureaucratism, familiarity in professional relations or long-term shortages of personnel with suitable professional qualification profiles.

Disregard for Language and Writing Use

In some basic organizations of associated labor there have been instances where the national and personnel structure of the employees has depended in large part on the composition of the administration, and not on responsible self-management agencies.

The statutes and other general acts of some organizations of associated labor reveal that in six opstinas in the province, 15 organizations of associated labor contain regulations regarding use of language and writing, while the 14 remaining organizations of associated labor have no reference to that matter in their statutes, thus causing dissatisfaction among Serbs and Montenegrins and creating the opportunity for unfavorable comments. The 15 organizations of associated labor that have some regulation of the language question, call for obligatory knowledge of both Albanian and Serbo-Croatian for 1,583 positions among the total anticipated positions, amounting to 8,396 jobs.

The status report of the Kosovo executive council presents the following summary: In Kosovo during the entire postwar period the rate of population increase has been high, while per capita investments have been insufficient and the lowest in the country. Thus it has been impossible to resolve the unemployment problem successfully. As a result, the unemployment rate in Kosovo is 27.3 percent, while in Macedonia it is 21.5, in Montenegro 14.7, in Bosnia and Hercegovina, 13.8, in Croatia 5.2, in Vojvodina 12.4, in Serbia proper 15.8, and in Slovenia 1.3 percent. In a similar way, every ninth resident of Kosovo is employed, while every fourth resident of Yugoslavia has a job; every fifth person in Bosnia and Hercegovina has a job, every second in Slovenia. Even in Kosovo there are crucial differences in the level of employment by nationality: every eleventh Albanian has a job, every 4.6th Serb, every 3.5th Montenegrin, every 21st Moslem, etc.

As one of the most important sociopolitical problems of the province, unemployment has its implications, because in a multinational community with highly pronounced disproportions in economic development that problem takes on not only political and economic, but also social and national dimensions.

In the employment structure in Kosovo, the Albanians have 64.9 percent of the jobs while they account for 77.4 percent of the total population. Montenegrins have 4.3 percent of the jobs while accounting for 1.7 percent of the population; for the Serbs the corresponding figures are 25.9 and 13.3 percent. The situation is similar among those who are

seeking employment, but it is somewhat closer to the national makeup of the population, because of the total number of those seeking work (nearly 80,000) 79.6 percent are Albanians, 13.7 percent are Serbs, 1.5 percent Montenegrins, 1.8 percent are Moslems, Romani make up 2 percent and others account for 0.6 percent.

To determine the true state in the self-management regulation of organizations of associated labor from the aspect of their effect on the manner, possibilities and conditions for employment, a survey was made of 29 basic organizations of associated labor. On that occasion it was determined that in these organizations of associated labor of various profiles, there are a total of 21,273 employees, of which 60.48 percent are Albanians, 26.88 percent Serbs, 6.3 percent Montenegrins, 2 percent Moslems, 2.46 percent Turks, 0.42 percent Romani and 2.48 other nationalities.

In the organizations of associated labor where the questionnaire was completed, among the 657 workers with special authority and responsibilities, the nationality structure is the following: 356 or 53.5 percent Albanians, 183 or 27.27 percent Serbs, 78 or 11.62 percent Montenegrins, 31 or 4.62 percent are Moslems, 12 or 1.79 percent are Turks, 2 or 0.3 percent are Romani and 9 or 1.34 percent are others.

As far as the national structure of presidents of administrative agencies of sociopolitical organizations, in these collectives the situation is as follows: of a total number of 251, 144 or 54.34 percent are Albanians, 78 or 29.49 percent are Serbs, 22 or 8.3 percent are Montenegrins, 7 or 2.64 percent are Moslems, 12 or 4.91 percent are Turks and 0.3 percent are of other nationalities.

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WORK OF JUDICIARY QUESTIONED, DISCUSSED

Pressures on Judges

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1663, 14 Nov 82 pp 23-24

[Article by Zvonko Simic]

[Text] Were the voices about corruption in the court true, and was that the most significant extrajudicial influence on judges and court proceedings?

Recently at a meeting on strengthening legality and smashing economic and other crimes, Branko Pesic, president of the Serbian Assembly, said among other things: "Recently there have been increased reports of bribes and corruption in the courts, and it was being said that 'you can buy any kind of court decision you want,' that it is possible to drag a case on with postponements, etc.; all of this harms the reputation of these agencies and creates a lack of confidence in them among the working people and citizens."

Thus newspaper readers had from a prominent political worker the opportunity to hear the same doubt that they had often heard in private conversations at home, in the cafes, on the street.

What is Difficult

Last year in a little town in eastern Serbia, an opstina court judge was convicted of receiving bribes. Prior to that an assistant public prosecutor in Mostar, for the same reason, found himself in the place opposite the one usually occupied by the prosecutor. He too was convicted. A former prisoner confirmed to this reporter that there is a way to avoid a jail sentence if you pay well, but I did not believe him until a referent for implementing sentences in Titograd ended up in jail in place of those for whom money had bought a deal whereby the summons for fulfilling their jail sentence never came.

These cases were written up in the newspapers, and that is practically all that can be dug up in newspaper documentation of recent times on this topic. Of course, everything that happens does not get into the newspapers, not is there any way to find out everything that happens someplace face to face, so that these few instances of specific crime in the judicial system should doubtless be multiplied by some unknown factor. Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to suppose that the major part of the talk about crimes in the courts and related to justice came from all sorts of misunderstandings, and disagreements about the court process.

A typist at a federal institution who is getting a divorce told me: "The final deadline was in June, and here it is November, and I haven't received any decision. 'He' must have pulled some deal with the judge."

In fact, that is not necessarily the case. There are many more simple explanations for such delays, from work overloads because of personnel insufficiencies (many courts in smaller towns do not have nearly as many judges as specified by the systematization of courts), to that bad but understandable habit of putting off the most difficult and most sensitive court cases for some later moment of inspiration. When a case is conducted well, it usually is not difficult to make a decision even in the most difficult cases, according to an experienced district court judge, who has had the occasion to give the death penalty. The most difficult thing is to write the rationale, formulate that truly precise determination of the man who is judge from a chaos of facts and contradictory testimony, to show such and such a measure of guilt worthy of corresponding punishment.

The Most Prestigious Occupation

Yet every group of some size must have its share of rakes, and so doubtless they are to be found among the 2,000 people who provide judicial services in the Serbian Republic. The functioning of that sort of human fact of life should not threaten the normal functioning of the judiciary, although a single instance of dishonest legal proceedings in public colors the whole profession.

In a study by the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research in Belgrade, it was shown that among a list of 48 selected occupations, that of judge has absolutely the highest social prestige, surpassing occupations such as engineer, scientific worker, sociopolitical worker, actor or physician. At first glance this contradicts the significant number of stories about dishonest judgements, but upon second glance, it probably does not. Precisely because of the delicacy of the judicial calling and exceptional prestige that it enjoys, the judge and his work are measured by the strictest yardstick. As the old French saying has it, "Noblesse oblige," and one should not think that that is an anachronism. That which the citizenry would overlook for someone else, will not be overlooked for a judge.

That sensitivity increases markedly under crisis circumstances, and thus it obviously has grown in these days as Yugoslav society is torn by economic and other difficulties. Yet it always exists and is never limited to the factor of an anonymous judge, or someone with a name and surname, being involved in activities below the dignity of his calling. Rather, it provokes the more broadly formulated question: does the court make judgements always and only on the basis of "justice," by the law, or are there relevant pressures on judges and the judicial process that do not stem from bribes and co-ruption?

"Local Influence"

Just before his term of office as president of the Federal Court ended year before last, Professor Mirko Perovic told NIN that there are such pressures, even though "it takes quite a bit of strength to say so publicly." One of the reasons is the actual position of the judicial personnel, especially in lower courts. In many ways the judge is dependent on local leadership. He is often forced to think about the way a group of people in the opstina leadership will react to his decision.

At the conference mentioned above Branko Pesic said that the pressures (on inspectors and prosecuting agencies) is a fact, and that sociopolitical bodies and judicial agencies "should be informed about every such instance in order to undertake suitable action, no matter who is involved."

Last year, a doctor in the Serbian interior was arrested on suspicion of committing several malversations. Even before the arraignment, a local correspondent reported that it had been "proved" that the doctor had done this and that (taken bribes, misused his official position, conducted unauthorized trade, etc.). He even reported that the public would be excluded from the trial. This last detail is particularly typical. A decision to exclude the public is made by the court council after the trial has begun. Who could have informed this correspondent about a court decision that did not yet exist (the court council did not even exist yet)?

Later, the public was excluded from the major part of the proceedings, the doctor received a long jail sentence and committed suicide. Anyone who encounters such an occurrence has the right to hypothesize how the extrajudicial pressure on the court originated, the more so since no one was found to refute the correspondent.

Under some other conditions there is foundation for such an hypothesis. It has been found and more than once stated publicly that "here and there" the inspectors will more easily make an indictment and the prosecutor will more readily arraign "an enterprise from foreign territory," than if someone from his own commune is involved. What is that if it isn't a "local influence?" And it isn't essential for someone to pick up the telephone and tell the inspector or the prosecutor at the other end of the line "it's true that they got their hands dirty, but they're out people." That can be felt without being said.

The Safety of Anonymity

The judges with whom we wished to discuss this topic either declined to discuss it "so as not to be on the defensive" or preferred to remain anonymous. To a degree they felt "summoned," especially concerning economic crimes and judgements. Competent estimates (such as that of former federal public prosecutor Vuko Goce Gucetic in a newspaper interview) show that economic crimes have become the number one crime in Yugoslavia by number of indictments. In recent years they have been growing at a rate of 15 to 20 percent annually. In 1971 in Serbia 2,690 criminal cases were uncovered in the economy, while last year the number was about 6000. In their worst form, theft of social property, they amounted to 236 cases in 1979, 295 cases in 1980 and 392 in 1981; in the first 6 months of 1982 there were already 250 instances. Yet in nearly half the cases probationary sentences are given.

Are the sentences for economic crimes what they should be? Milan Zecevic, president of the Serbian Supreme Court, believes that those given for more severe criminal acts are largely adequate. He sees in the fact that courts rather rarely given so-called secondary sentences, from fines to bans on involvement in certain occupations, a certain inconsistency in sentence policy.

An experienced district court judge told us that economic crime is clearly growing noticeably, although the statistics must be taken with a grain of salt. Issuing checks with insufficient funds comprises the majority of cases, and often these are not major amounts, although at times they are. Many secondary penalties come from this group of violations. If a person did not far exceed his balance, if during the course of the trial or even before it he has compensated for the damage, or if this is his first time, would it really be better for him to go to jail?

The judiciary is a delicate defensive instrument of society in a special way. When automobile "borrowing" or NSF checks become common, or murder for blood vengeance, the courts are expected to sharpen the penalties for those acts, in order to cut their numbers, as a warning. There is also the notion of a "judgment call" (and football lovers should be told that the idea was born in the courtroom, not at the stadium). Criminal law always has the provision "from to", which enables and presupposes this approach to the administration of justice, which is called sentencing policy.

Some jurists, primarily theoreticians, believe that so-called daily sentencing policies have lesser effects than many believe, in that they put relative values on "crime and punishment" and that in that "relativization" more can be lost than is gained on the other side of the ledger. If this is followed to its extreme, even some sort of consultation on sentencing policy could be regarded as "pressure on the courts." But jurists of such persuasions represent a truly modest minority.

Legality is the mainstay of court independence. Zecevic says that the court is not independent of society, of its basic principles and interest (which in any case are formulated as the society's will in laws), but that the court must be "operationally independent," completely independent of individual or group influence in concrete legal proceedings.

And let that be the point made at the end.

Interview With Jurist

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 82 p 13

[Interview with Djuro Svorcan, president of the Belgrade District Court, by Momir Ilic; date and place not given]

[Text] More than 20,000 people have been accused of economic crimes in the past 10 years. The notion has taken root that social property belongs to no one. In the case of "Belgrade Engineering," there is talk of billions, but about 70 million (old) dinars are being sought in court. Is there pressure?

In Belgrade in the last 10 years more than 20,000 people have been accused of economic crimes. That is every 29th employed person, or 1.37 percent of the population. Belgrade's "share" of the economic crime in Serbia is 42.31 percent. The most recent statistical data once again confirms this. In 1980 this type of crime brought 4,181 accusations in 1981, 5,627, and in the first half of 1982, 2,667 persons were accused, according to Djuro Svorcan, president of the Belgrade District Court.

The number of convictions has also increased, as well as the cost in social property, which last year for example (based on convictions) amounted to 170,652,000 dinars.

The percent, however, of real economic crime is less, for a large part of the numbers given are for the criminal act of writing NSF checks.

Strict Penalties

[Question] Has the growth in economic crime been accompanied by a growth in theft?

[Answer] Theft is the worst crime among economic crimes, and the tendency is for that category to increase, in both the number of persons accused of such crimes and in the value of the illegally acquired benefits. In 1981 132 persons were accused, while in the first 6 months of 1982 the number was 82. Those are primarily people employed in labor organizations, such as directors, administrators, and controllers.

[Question] How much does the social climate contribute to the expansion of this crime?

[Answer] Unfortunately, here in Yugoslavia the notion has taken root that that which is public property belongs to no one, and that anyone can take as much as he or she wants. We also know that morality has experienced some erosion. The concept of preserving the common wealth has been corrupted and the feeling of the work ethic is being lost.

[Question] It is not rare to hear opinions that criminal sentencing policy is soft, and that it is not effective enough to eliminate these crimes.

[Answer] I could not agree with that assertion. Sentences relate to individual cases, while at the same time they are to represent prevention. I would say that the Belgrade District Court gives strict sentences. Here are some data: From January to June of 1982, 67 convicted criminals received a total of 358 years and 4 months of jail terms. Of that, 21 persons were convicted of theft, and they were sentenced to a total of 150 years and 10 months of jail.

Yet not even the most adequate sentencing policy can eliminate the phenomenon of economic crime without appropriate preventive actions by all agencies and and surveillance in labor and other organizations. It is important to prevent the causes, not to hit the consequences.

[Question] You mean that sentencing policy must be applied consistently?

[Answer] With regard for the circumstances and individual problems, it should be strengthened. That should relate particularly to sentences involving security measures, such as bans on performing previous employment responsibilities by those who committed criminal acts, and the prohibition of such persons managing and having social property at their disposal.

[Question] Is pressure actually exerted against the courts, and in what form?

[Answer] There is no direct pressure or suggestions about sentencing. Public consideration of matters and individuals cases that are before the courts does, however, amount to a certain type of pressure, not only on judicial agencies and judges, but also on those being judged. This can have an unfavorable impact.

[Question] What do you have in mind?

[Answer] For example, taking opinions and giving positions by various forums and institutions in the case of the League of Serbian Journalists and "Belgrade Engineering." That took place, even though the factual situation was not well enough known, nor the matter actually before the court. Thus false notions emerged about the degree of criminal responsibility and the court procedure. Concretely about the Belgrade Engineering case: They dealt with billions, but the Belgrade District Court sought about 70 million old dinars from Jovan Obradovic as his responsibility. All the rest was not the subject of debate and decision in the Belgrade court.

[Question] Since we are talking cases, there are several ("Belgrade Engineering," "The Red Signal," and the Journalists' League) that have awakened exceptional interest. The public retained the impression that these cases were not fully illuminated, and that the persons involved did not receive the punishment they deserved.

[Answer] I do not think it is appropriate to comment on matters that are not legally finished before the court, no matter how interested the public may be in them. I would only repeat my earlier opinion, that to given an evaluation at this time (when the court decisions have not yet become effective), regardless of the place and level involved, represents a type of pressure on the adequate resolution of those cases. As far as the Journalists' League is concerned, the case is finished, with Micumovic sentenced to 7 years in prison. The other cases are in the hands of prosecuting agencies.

[Question] At last month's meeting of the LCY City Committee, one remark indicated that the judicial agencies cannot move into action after a meeting of a committee or the opstina. Have there been such instances?

[Answer] That sort of statement cannot apply to the court. I do not know of cases where the court has received instructions, suggestions or requests as to how it should proceed and decided, whether it is a matter of a committee or an assembly of the sociopolitical community.

"Privatization" of Function and Corruption

[Question] Recently we wrote about the case in which the "Prva Iskra" enterprise of Baric bought equipment for its foundry in the FRG in 1974. From that time until now the equipment has not been installed, but rather, it has all disappeared. This purchase, in which obviously some crime was committed, has been studied by several offices at Prva Iskra, but in their estimate, they did not receive the support of prosecuting agencies, including the district public prosecutor office in Belgrade.

[Answer] Some 20 days ago an investigation was initiated in this case, and an investigating judge is working on it now. At this time nothing more detailed can be said, because evidence is being gathered about the equipment purchase.

[Question] There is a widespread opinion that in many service agencies, such as health, education and employment, bribes, corruption and "connections" rule. Court statistics refute that. Why the discrepancy?

[Answer] Bribes, corruption and connections are hard to prove. Such things are done face to face. The number of such cases that the courts consider is insignificant, perhaps ten per year. I believe that individual people have made their activities so private that these phenomena are more pronounced than in the private institutions that exist in some countries. Their glorification reaches such dimensions that it is impossible

to realize any right without first finding a connection with the director. That *modus operandi* is also used cery cleverly by subordinates, and it is cleverly used to obtain certain benefits.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BOGICEVIC SUBMITS REPORT TO YOUTH CONGRESS

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[Report by Bogic Bogicevic, president of the conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia, entitled "The Role and the Tasks of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia in the Development of Socialist Self-Management, Material and Cultural Progress of the Country and the Creativity of the Young People," submitted to the 11th Congress of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia in Belgrade--live]

[Summary] Comrades, delegates and guests: We are holding the 11th Congress of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia without Josip Broz Tito, our dearest comrade and teacher and the greatest son of the workers class. With his wisdom, Comrade Tito enriched us and the world. His name and his work are the greatest inspiration to all of us and to the coming generations.

Tito and the party have opened up prospects of development which give us security and strength. We followed Tito's call in the war and in the years of reconstruction and contributed to the progress of our country. Comrade Tito made a decisive contribution to the development of the Nonaligned Movement, establishing friendship and cooperation among countries. He forged new paths of understanding, equality and peace in the world, as a founder of the Non-aligned Movement, a statesman in the struggle for disarmament, security and cooperation, consistently promoting equal relations in the international workers and communist movement.

Tito has taught us how to preserve brotherhood and unity, defend our country and value work and learning. "The youth of the socialist self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia is demonstrating by deeds that it can live with Tito's works and that it has been, is and remains Tito's." [applause]

Comrades, the 11th congress is being held 40 years after the First Congress of the United Federation of Antifascist Youth of Yugoslavia, in a year when the LCY and other congresses have been held. "Our congress should clearly determine the most important tasks facing the young generation now."

The youth congresses in the republics and provinces "clearly decided in favor of further comprehensive development and progress of our SFRY, equality,

brotherhood and unity, socialist self-management, nonalignment, independence, freedom and peace, all-people's defense and social self-protection, and development and strengthening of the achievements of our revolution. We have said our resolute no to everything that attempts to divide and separate us, to everything that attacks our brightest achievements, brotherhood, unity, equality and socialist togetherness of our peoples and nationalities, to every internal and external enemy, regardless of where it comes from and what its aims are." [applause]

We decided for the further development of associated labor, socialist self-managing relations and economic stabilization. "We said our no to autarky, unfair competition, encapsulation of any kind, undermining of income relations; no to uncultivated fields and underestimation of work in the country and in agricultural production; no to every idleness and idlers and to rewards for administrative and not productive work." We decided for a broad inclusion of young people in the socialist self-managing system and against fruitless meetings and work in forums, passivity and sectarianism.

"We decided in favor of a further socialist self-managing transformation of education and upbringing, and in favor of productive employment, but against connections and nepotism, against violations of social accords, against flouting of job advertisements. We said: More collective work and responsibility. We said no to an uncomradely attitude, selfishness, disunity, leaderism, careerism and [word indistinct], dogmatism and bureaucratic behavior."

We have come to this congress with great results in our creative work. The social product has been increasing at an average annual rate of 4.4 percent. The social sector now accounts for 86 percent of total economic activity. Between 1978 and 1981, employment increased at a rate of 3.6 percent.

However, we are also aware of the present conditions and our responsibility for the further prosperity of our community. A number of grave problems facing our society demand most energetic action. "The economic situation in the country is very grave. Labor productivity is falling. Exports are decreasing. Prices are increasing and we have exceeded the agreed limits in the balance of payments and in the foreign exchange situation. The rapid growth of prices and inflation increasingly endanger the standard of living of our people."

Unemployment has also increased, and the gap between education and the requirements of associated labor has grown. There are problems in housing and other problems hurting young people. An even greater mobilization of young people is needed to resolve these problems. "The Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation in this respect expresses its full support for the long-term program of economic stabilization and the provisional measures of the Assembly and the Federal Executive Council to stabilize the economic flows in the country."

This imposes an obligation on the Socialist Youth Federation members to stimulate self-managing organizations and communes to adopt concrete programs to this effect, especially employment programs." The key to solving the problem

of youth employment is basically in the hands of the employed." It is a historical responsibility of the workers class to expand the material foundation so that more young cadres may be employed. We must instill a positive attitude to work in the minds of every youth. We must oppose idleness and a careless attitude. Workers must control the distribution of income, work organization must improve. The Socialist Youth Federation must struggle for a stop to non-economic investment, "resolutely standing against megalomania and careless investment."

The more rapid employment of the unemployed must be based on a better utilization of plants and on introducing two and three shifts. A first-class priority youth task is to encourage the creation of conditions for young people's work in agriculture. In this connection, the struggle against distorted views about our villages and agricultural production and the need to give more importance to agricultural production and organize the social life of young people in the rural areas are the most important determinants of our activity. Every hectare of fallow land must create a new job tomorrow.

This end production in the private sector of agriculture must be encouraged through association, production cooperation and better cooperation with the social sector of agriculture, while striving to ensure the economic and social security of private farmers and to equalize their rights and obligations with workers in other sectors of associated labor.

Considerable reserves for employment also exist in the small-scale economy, production and service activities, both in the social and private sector. Additional stimulus should be ensured through economic measures so that citizens will invest their funds and work in the small-scale economy. This particularly applies to returnees workers. The possibility of reducing the working life and working time should be examined, particularly for those workers who work under difficult and unhealthy conditions.

We must shorten the unnecessary long rests and holidays. Let us do everything possible to utilize the long student holidays for mass voluntary labor drives, for the harvesting and sowing of crops. The Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation must work to abolish overtime and work for special fees and to abolish the work of pensioners, thus creating scope for greater production employment. The young man is and must be prepared to bear part of the social problems and must wage a struggle against the practice of flouting the bids inviting applications for jobs, family ties and connections to obtain a job.

Since the last congress the voluntary youth labor drives have been further asserted. In 1978, there were some 20 voluntary youth labor drives, while this year there were over 50 such drives in which 60,000 young people participated. This shows greater action capability of the Socialist Youth Federation and broader social support for youth labor drives and their role in educating young people in the spirit of brotherhood and unity, equality, ideological training and training for work. The youth labor drives express the young people's readiness to contribute to the country's socioeconomic development.

The unfavorable economic situation directly reflects on the material and social position of all people, including young people. Young people are especially dissatisfied with the fact that in some cases property and wealth are obtained not through work but through corruption and appropriation of funds to the detriment of social property. The Socialist Youth Federation must eradicate such phenomena at their roots.

In the field of housing policy, we must create the conditions for increasing the number of apartments, stimulate private housing construction and ensure more rapid and cheaper housing construction. "The youth organization resolutely supports the actions "you have a house--you should return your apartment" and similar actions that are being taken in the society." [applause] However, all this will not resolve the problems of those who have no accommodation, particularly the problem of young people.

Comrades, one of the important tasks of the Socialist Youth Federation is the further development of activity to promote the position and the protection of the rights and interests of young Yugoslavs temporarily working and staying abroad. The youth organization will make efforts to implement the policy of their gradual return, employment and inclusion in the educational-training system in the homeland and in all currents of our socialist self-managing development. The youth organization must devote more attention to the organization of our citizens abroad and their links with the organizations in the country, to a more effective information system for Yugoslavs abroad about the socioeconomic and political aspects of life of our country. The socialist youth federation must work on the ideopolitical and educational training of our citizens abroad.

Ever since the Ninth Congress of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation, the youth organization has made efforts for a radical socialist transformation of upbringing and education. Schooling must be subordinated to the needs and demands of associated labor. Education must serve to train young people for active participation in the socialist self-managing life. The youth organization must resolutely demand a better material evaluation and social affirmation of production work, an improvement of the working conditions and a change in the criteria for enrollment at higher schools. The Socialist Youth Federation is obliged to be more active as regards enrollment policy so as to coordinate the differences between the needs for cadres and the professions trained by higher schools and universities.

The Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation must resolutely meet the demand that Marxist teaching should be interpreted and passed on to young people as a revolutionary idea which encourages the young people's creative activity in the struggle for the emancipation of work and man, and should not be considered the most difficult subject in school. Nationalist, chauvinist and other activities of the individuals must be resolutely uncovered. "A passive attitude toward the proponents of such notions must be branded a betrayal of the basic values of the revolution. Such people cannot educate young people. Such people should be prevented from poisoning the younger generation." [applause]

To enable all young people to choose their education under equal conditions and according to their capabilities, it is necessary that we wage a struggle against creating schools for privileged young people. To be able to solve practical problems of young people's education and life, we must pay greater attention to their living conditions. In these efforts, the Tito scholarship fund for granting scholarships to young workers and workers' children plays a special role.

The results achieved in the field of education in the republics and provinces are different. Respecting all the specific traits resulting from the national, cultural and other peculiarities, the youth organization advocates unified educational programs in the country. The ideopolitical education of young people is an important and frequently the basic precondition for including young people in all processes of the socioeconomic, political and cultural life of our socialist self-managing community. "Despite the results achieved in this field, the mass ideopolitical training and Marxist education is below the realistic needs of young people in the grassroots of the society, the organization of associated labor, schools and the local community."

However, the mass ideopolitical training and Marxist training has been particularly affirmed in the Yugoslav People's Army. The ideopolitical training is also being carried out at youth labor drives, political schools, seminars and other forms of ideological training organized by the youth organization. It is particularly important that we continue to strengthen the broad creative activity of the younger generation in culture to develop a new attitude toward cultural values.

We have still not solved the problem of young people's work and activity in their free time. We must nurture mass forms of amateur creative work. We must also ensure a much richer social life for young people. It is necessary to ensure that social rooms in schools, universities and culture halls are really put at the young people's disposal for their noneducational and other social activities.

Work on writing a history of the Yugoslav revolutionary youth movement has been discussed and has been a subject of interest for some time. We must overcome extensive discussions and we must make an organized effort so that this project is concluded soon. The research activity of young people must be asserted even more. The information publishing activity must be encouraged even more throughout the country, and in this respect the youth information media have a special responsibility. The problem of social influence on the press in the broadest sense of the term has remained.

Proceeding from the place and role of the Socialist Youth Federation in political self-management, it is necessary to make further efforts to include young people in all forms of self-managing and delegate decisionmaking. An enduring task of the Socialist Youth Federation is to work to affirm the class role of the institutions of the political system. Thus, we will contribute to the assertion of our role in the system of delegate decisionmaking. Young people will thus become real elements in the process of decisionmaking and they will carry their share of responsibility.

Since the last congress, trends have become evident which indicate a real reduction of young people's participation in the self-managing organs, delegations and the delegate assemblies. This leads to a decline of young people's real influence in the process of social decisionmaking and in assuming social responsibility for social development. The LCY has always influenced the correct ideological orientation of young people and the development of their independent and creative attitude toward social problems. In many localities, the party organizations became directly concerned and contributed to the more successful work of the youth organization.

"However, it has been noticed that the attitude of young members of the League of Communists toward the youth organization is not satisfactory in all circles. The remarks that a number of young people, immediately after they have been admitted to the League of Communists, neglect their work in the youth organization are frequently justified. The statistical data show that young members of the LCY aged up to 27 years account for 36 percent of all members, while in certain circles this percentage is much greater."

Great possibilities exist for cooperation and common work between the Socialist-Youth Federation and the trade unions. These possibilities have been insufficiently utilized so far. This cooperation must be promoted through activities to solve a number of problems in the fields of self-management, delegate decision-making, the earning and distribution of income, material position of young workers and other problems.

In the future, we must further promote joint activity with the Yugoslav Veterans Federation. This activity is primarily necessary in the field of nurturing and strengthening the achievements of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution.

In the spirit of the conclusions of the Third LCY conference, the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation must strengthen even more its front character as the organizer of the socialist social activity of young people. The social role of the Socialist Youth Federation is not in accordance with the actual interests and needs of young people and society. For this reason the youth organization must continue to develop as an organization of all young people, as a front of the younger generation but not as a party of young people.

We must make the basic organization of the Socialist Youth Federation the center of our political and social activity. In the work of our organization we must promote cadre policy and its further democratization.

Comrades, the younger generation identifies itself with the basic values of our society--socialist self-management and brotherhood and unity--and with our country's independent and nonaligned position in the world. However, we must bear in mind that all ideological currents and political conflicts that exist in society also appear among young people. We have nationalist and other tendencies in the youth organization, as well as phenomena of dogmatic, pseudoleftwing and abstract humanist criticism of our development. Some of our youth have also been gripped by phenomena of petty bourgeois awareness, a consumer mentality, irresponsibility and life without work.

The younger generation must form and express its revolutionary attitude through work in strengthening socialist self-managing relations, brotherhood and unity and equality. We have achieved great results in implementing full national equality of all our peoples and nationalities. Nonetheless, there are young people who are guilty of nationalist outbursts. This was particularly expressed in Kosovo where many young people, indoctrinated by nationalist and irredentist ideas, organized hostile action against the achievements of our revolution. The causes for what has happened should be sought in subjective weaknesses in the youth organization and in organized hostile activity. There are also other cases of nationalist indoctrination among young people in our country, and we must perceive the causes leading to such ideological deformations among young people.

We resolutely oppose everything that is antiself-managing and antisocialist. In the brotherhood and unity and socialist togetherness and equality of all our peoples and nationalities, we have the guarantee of our unity, freedom and bright future. For this reason we will continue to develop and strengthen our brotherhood and unity, which is built in blood and "to guard it as the apple of our eyes, as Comrade Tito used to teach us. [applause]

Comrades, in accordance with the results achieved in our development, we must further develop and strengthen our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. The assertion of man as the decisive factor in the defense system must be the direct and constant tasks of all subjective forces and thus also the Socialist Youth Federation. Young people should be included more in the overall activity in the preparations for all-people's defense, particularly in the units of territorial defense and civil defense.

We must prepare the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation in the Yugoslav People's Army even more in order to constantly strengthen the defense capability of units and institutions of the army. Experiences and results indicate that the social organizations where young people gather an increasingly more important role in the activities of young people. The joint activity of the SAWPY, the Socialist Youth Federation and the organizations gathering young people must be particularly ensured in those fields in which the phenomena of commercialization, technomanagerial attitudes, group property interests and so forth are slowly overcome.

Negative phenomena in certain sports organizations have a negative effect on young people and create a wrong picture about the values for which our socialist society is working. The joint conclusions of the SAWPY and the Socialist Youth Federation on the further socialist self-managing transformation of physical culture are being slowly implemented. The youth organization must be more active in implementing the adopted goals in this field.

The Federation of Pioneers of Yugoslavia plays an important educational role among children. The obligation of the Socialist Youth Federation and other social factors, primarily the educational institutions, is to improve even further the work with the youngest generations. The Socialist Youth Federation must send its best members to work with pioneers.

The Socialist Youth Federation will continue to organize a number of competitions in connection with youth day with which the young people and all our working people mark Comrade Tito's birthday.

"Comrades, we are dissatisfied and concerned over the development of the world situation and the deterioration of nearly all fields of international life. Instead of an urgent, joint solution to the existential problems of mankind, such as hunger, poverty and underdevelopment, we are witnessing a crisis of detente and the arms race headed by the big powers and blocs in their competition for spheres of interest. We are witnessing an increase in military interventions and pressures, outbreaks of new wars and the flaring of hotbeds of crisis, and a deepening of the crisis of the overall international political and economic system. This uncertainty in the international community and the increased danger for peace in the world demand that the progressive democratic and peace-loving forces resolutely oppose imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, racism, Zionism, hegemonism and all other forms of exploitation and domination on the national and international level.

"Finally, the realization of the goals for which the Palestinian people are fighting under PLO leadership, the Namibian people under SWAPO leadership, the liberation movement and the freedom-loving forces in South Africa, the people of Western Sahara under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador and the other liberation movements as well as the realization of the legitimate rights of Cyprus, Korea and Lebanon are an inseparable part of our orientations. [applause]

"Under the confusion of a divided world and tense international relations, the original principles of the nonaligned policy and movement are asserting themselves as a real alternative and as a powerful factor of progressive changes in international relations. During the past period, acting on the basis of the principles of the LCY and SFRY foreign policy and with full respect for the principle of cooperation between youth organizations on the basis of equality, the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia has significantly contributed to the democratization of relations among and the action unity of the world's young people. It has successfully continued its fruitful cooperation with over 450 progressive and democratic youth and student organizations. The Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia will further continue to advocate the action unity of the world's progressive and democratic youth in the struggle for peace, freedom and comprehensive social progress. It will consistently strive for the relations among youth and student organizations on basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and understanding, independence, noninterference in internal affairs, and responsibility of each organization to its own members.

"It will devote special attention to democratizing relations in the international youth and student movement and overcoming the bloc institutional, human, ideological and political frameworks of cooperation. Cooperation among the [youth and student] organizations of nonaligned countries and other progressive youth and student organizations which are inspired by the principles and goals of the Nonaligned Movement will also make a significant contribution

in this respect. By initiating the international youth and student seminar in Kumrovec and holding this seminar in the past 2 years, the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia has implemented in practice its own principles of international cooperation. This seminar must be held regularly and further promoted as a suitable form of promoting bilateral cooperation, bringing together a large number of friendly organizations from nonaligned countries and the entire world and of confirming the national organizations and the principle of nonalignment in the relations between youth organizations. Several initiatives originating in that seminar—as for instance, the initiative for cooperation of Mediterranean youth organizations which was realized by the first Mediterranean Youth Festival this year—attest to this need among other things.

"Comrades. The vital interest of the younger generation of our entire society is in constantly strengthening the SFRY and in strongly advancing along Tito's road. [applause] Brotherhood and unity is the most powerful weapon of our socialist self-managing and nonaligned community and the greatest strength of our youth. [applause] Our orientations for the future are clear but our actions must be as strong as words because only actions can confirm our orientations." We must orient ourselves to everything that is creative and, in our difficult ideological struggle, we must continue to eliminate everything that pulls us back and does not provide any scope for what is new; and, of course, what is new can, for us, only be within socialist self-management. "Our orientations are freedom, togetherness, brotherhood and unity and equality of all our peoples and nationalities. These values represent a guarantee of our unity and freedom, a guarantee for which we must continue to struggle and which we must continue to prove and confirm. [applause]

"We, the youth of Yugoslavia view the development of socialist self-management as the only possibility for real long-term solutions for the problems faced by our society and its young generation. We will work devotedly, in the way that Comrade Tito instructed us at our 10th Congress. We will be persistent in fulfilling our obligations and will courageously march along the road which our people's and nationalities have firmly chosen and thus the results will not fail to materialize. And it is the interests of our workers class and the interests of our peoples and nationalities that will help us the most even in the most difficult situation to find good solutions and to separate the real from imaginary values, truth from errors and justice from injustice. [applause]

"The 11th Congress of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia must provide a new and even stronger creative encouragement to Yugoslavia's younger generations in implementing Tito's messages to the young people of our country along the road of further promoting our socialist self-managing development. Led by the LCY and permanently inspired by Tito's work, the youth of Yugoslavia will spare no effort to match up to the revolutionary tasks which lie ahead of us. [applause]

"Long live the LCY! [applause] Long live the brotherhood and unity and socialist togetherness of all our peoples and nationalities! [applause] Long live the SFRY!" [prolonged applause]

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DEBATE AT YOUTH FEDERATION CONGRESS REPORTED

Belgrade TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian 0857 GMT 19 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade: Noting that the stabilization burden is not evenly distributed among everybody, Ivica Starcevic asked the question whether it was just that a young man who is only entering life should bear the burden of the bad effects of the decisions in which he had not taken part, while at the same time (rest of sentence indistinct).

Social differentiation in society has become exaggerated. Social differences have become unbearable. Villas are being built left, right and center, trips are still being made all over the world, some people in this society live as if we are already in communism. We are becoming "a poor country of rich people," Starcevic said and added "we cannot build socialism if someone has two or three apartments and somebody else not even one, if there are socialist capitalists and socialist proletarians, if somebody has two jobs and somebody else not even one. We cannot build socialism if people are offended by injustices, queues, privileges."

He advocated that "the doors of the ideological arsenal of our revolution be opened again. We must return to the word, the word such as Tito's word was, the most powerful of all weapons."

Speaking about the cadre policy, Igor Lavs observed that there were still officials who made promises on behalf of the youth organization as if this was a youth organization for the young and not an organization of the young. He noted that on the list of candidates there were people who have been graduates for as long as 5 or 10 years and who are eternal students. He added that this should be discussed more and not whether someone should be an official even after the age of 27.

Speaking about responsibility, Naim Redza asked why had there been no cooperation between the Republican Conference of the SSO of Serbia and the Provincial Conference of the SSO of Vojvodina with the young people of Kosovo. He advocated a more specific cooperation and not merely a cooperation on paper as it had been mainly up to now.

The violation of the law and the weakening of ethical values which have always adorned our revolution brought about a severe condemnation by the young

people. Particular dissatisfaction was expressed about the fact that an insufficiently resolute action is being waged against those who acquire enormous riches without work and without the results of work. Vlado Bulic observed that individual officials had apparently forgotten what they had fought for. I do not believe that they have fought for the kind of life they have today--to work as much as they want to and to have as much as they want to. He observed that it was a disgrace of this society that on one side entire districts of villas for officials are being built, with swimming pools and Mercedes cars, while on the other hand--solidarity apartments for workers. If these very same people keep telling us that all of us will bear the burden of the stabilization equally, then this is nothing else but demagoguery, Vlado Bulic said.

Considerable number of comments were made regarding forum work in the youth organization. An example how the work should not be done is also the preparation for this Congress, Bozidar Puncuh said. He observed that the delegates received the Congress material only 7 days ago and that it had been impossible to hold a public debate on them. The question, therefore, arises whose views are they--our own or of the young people of Yugoslavia. Ivan Censek was also dissatisfied with the debate in the Commission and he assessed all the speeches as being chiefly monologues, discussions prepared beforehand, all of which resemble the introductory speeches or the summing up statements.

Only the debate on the proposed amendments of the SSOJ Statute was as expected in these 2 days--dynamic, polemical, there had been dialogues and there had been replies. The question which attracted the greatest attention of the delegates was--should individuals over 27 years of age be elected to youth leaderships. The proposal of the commission for the change and supplements to the Statute and of the commission for drafting the action program that the Statute should not restrict the age of leaders but that the action program should suggest to the basic organizations of the SSO not to elect people older than 27 years of age was assessed as "politically illiterate."

Following a 2-hour debate on these issues, the delegates adopted the report on the 2 days of work of the commission which will be adopted at the plenary session in the afternoon.

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